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ABSTRACT

This report identifies factors which influence workers' behavior so that job performance and success are affected. In particular, the study resolves questions concerning talent development, occupational allocation, adaptability of workers, worker satisfaction, and performance. A detailed review of the literature is included. Suggestions are made for generalizing the variables to fit in various organizational contexts. Related documents are available as VT 011 592-011 595. (BH)

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ORGANIZATIONAL ROLE BEHAVIOUR

Arlene Bruck

Second Edition

A STUDY BY THE
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CENTRE
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FOREWORD

This publication is one of a series prepared under contract by the Industrial Relations Centre of McGill University for the Department of Manpower and Immigration's Experimental Projects Branch which was transferred to the Social and Human Analysis Branch of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion in July 1968.

The study includes a detailed review of the literature. It also provides a list of major organizational variables which social scientists have identified as affecting success and performance, and an analysis of how the variables affect behaviour. Suggestions are made about the provision of a theoretical abstraction of the variables to make them applicable in diverse organizational contexts.

The results of the study are intended for:

1. Classifying employment opportunities as a basis for prescribing compatible jobs for different types of people.
2. Classifying the behaviour required for survival and success in various job settings.
3. Identifying and classifying the variables now operating in educational and resocializing institutions.
4. Specifying models for social systems in training centres.

The study was expected to clarify partially some questions relating to talent development, occupational allocation, adaptability of workers, training of workers, worker satisfactions and performance.

Dr. W.A. Westley of the Industrial Relations Centre, McGill University, directed the study. He was assisted by research assistants under whose authorship their individual reports are published.

Mr. J.M. Saulnier of the Experimental Projects Branch was responsible for the administration of the contract and the preparation of the material for printing. He was assisted by Mrs. C. MacLean.

ROLE DEFINITIONS AND DESCRIPTIONS

Caplow (1964) contends that there is probably less agreement among authorities about role than on any other topic in organizational theory. A review of the pertinent literature backs up his contention.

First to introduce and use the concept of "role" was Linton (1936,Ch.8). He defined status as a position in the social system occupied by designated individuals, and role as the behavioural enacting of patterned expectation attributed to that position. He found the two concepts to be quite inseparable; there are no statuses without roles and no roles without statuses.

Our main concern will be organization material. We will, however, refer to data in peripheral areas which we feel to be illuminating to our particular problem.

THEORETICAL

1. Davis (1949,p.90) defines role in terms of actual performance as distinct from expected performance.

2. Thompson (1961,p.59) advocates that role be defined primarily in normative terms and considers behaviour to be of secondary importance.

3. Bates (1955,1956) and Thibaut and Kelley (1959) concur more or less with Thompson.

    a. Bates defines role as part of a social position consisting of a more or less integrated or related sub-set of social norms which are distinguishable from other sets of norms forming the same position. Role is normative and structural in character, not behavioural.

b. Kelley and Thibaut (1959,p.148) claim that roles consist of a cluster of norms providing for a division of labour or specialization of functions among members of a group. A person is said to occupy a particular role when, in relation to some social or task area, the norms applicable to his behaviour are different from those applied to his colleagues' or partners' behaviour.

Many theorists take neither the extreme view of Davis nor the extreme view of Thompson but attempt to somewhat synthesize both elements.

1. Parsons and Shils (1951,p.65), in discussing roles in relation to social action, say that it is possible to orient subjects either in terms of characteristics they possess, regardless of their performance, or in terms of characteristics they possess by virtue of their performance.

2. At various times, Parsons views role in three different ways:
   a. the actor's role is defined by the normative expectations of the members of the group as formulated in its social tradition (1945,p.230);
   b. status-role is the organized sub-system of acts of the actor or actors (1951,p.26);
   c. the organized sector of an actor's orientation which constitutes and defines his participation in an interactive process (1951,p.23).

3. Sarbin (1954,pp.224-225) claims positions are collections of rights and duties designated by a single term (e.g., mother, teacher). The actions of persons are organized around these positions and comprise the roles. The term role centers around the organized actions of persons coordinate within a given status or position. Persons occupy roles, but these roles are linked with the position and not the person who is temporarily

occupying the position; concomitant with this, however, is that role is the organized actions of a person in a given position. What distinguishes Sarbin's theory from purely sociological ones is his additional discussion of the interaction between self and role, with self conceptualized as an internal organization of qualities or dispositions (e.g., traits, habits and attitudes).

4. Levinson (1959) contends that theorists in analyzing hospitals, business firms, schools, etc., have given the term role, at least operationally, three quite separate meanings: (a) organizational role demands, (b) individual role-conceptions and (c) individual role-performances. He goes on to state that most writers accept the Weberian, Linton "unitary" concept that there is a high degree of congruence among these three aspects of role (i.e., organizational requirements will be so internalized by members as to be mirrored in their role conceptions with individual action reflecting appropriate role conceptions). This "unitary" concept of role is unrealistic and theoretically restricting. While there is some degree of congruence, organizations vary in their degree of integration re what the organization requires and what the members actually do. A distinction should be made, therefore, between structurally given role demands, and forms of role-definition achieved by individual members of an organization. "Personal role-definition" is the concept used to bridge the gap between personality and social structure; it is a reflection of those aspects of personality which are activated and sustained in a given structural-ecological environment, (i.e., if a given organization has both narrowly-defined role requirements and powerful mechanisms of social control, role definition will still be somewhat contingent upon the personality of the role incumbent; some will conform, some will rebel, some will effect changes in the normative system).

5. Bay (1962,pp.981-983) claims Levinson does not go far enough since his concepts neither fully cover the individual's scope for challenging conventional expectations or for the creative re-definition of his

role. He argues that different people approach the same kind of role with different degrees of loyalty, independence, etc., and that the individual's attitude towards his role can change over a period of time. Bay uses the term "incentive" as a supplementary concept connecting role expectation and role definition. This term refers to prospects of motive satisfaction by way of given role or given effort. Individual behaviour is normally a succession of compromises between what the person wants to do and what appears to be socially expected of him.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION RE EMPIRICAL STUDIES

Those authors who have attempted to synthesize theory with actual organization field work have been more or less forced to define role in broad terms.

1. Kahn et al. (1964) argue that associated with each office (e.g., a unique point in organizational space) is a set of activities which they define as potential behaviour. "These activities constitute the role to be performed, at least approximately[1], by any person who occupies that office" (p.13). Role behaviour is defined as "behaviour which is system relevant and which is performed by a person who is accepted by others as a member of the system" (p.18). The authors' definitions take into consideration individual variations in a given role, but, at the same time, structural requirements are not neglected (see Pugh, 1966).

2. Kahn and Katz (1966, p.174) differentiate between role playing in general and role playing in formal organizations. In formal organizations specific behaviours are more rigidly defined and roles are more a function of the social setting than of personality characteristics.

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[1] Underlining not in Authors' text.

3. Gross, Mason and McEachern (1958,pp.58-60) also combine the structurally defined aspects of role with individual disposition and variations. Evaluative standards are applied to an incumbent of a given position, but with three qualifications: (a) what will happen and what should happen are two different things; (b) some standards will apply to all incumbents of a specified position, others to just a specific position (e.g., universalistic or particularistic standards) and the intensity of standards to be followed will vary (i.e., some will be classified as "absolute must" - others as "preferably should").[1]

EVALUATION OF ROLE DEFINITIONS

A sensible discussion of role is found in Brown (1965,pp.152-154). He points out that the word "role" is borrowed from the theatre. A role in a play exists independently of any particular actor just as a social role has a reality which transcends the individual performer. As a script prescribes certain actions and words, roles in society too prescribe actions and words. Correspondingly, a role in a play permits a certain amount of interpretation, even lines can be deleted, but there are some aspects of a role that must be performed. Societal roles also permit a certain amount of creative interpretation. Roles and personality are mutually determinative. The personality one brings to a role determines the manner of its interpretation. A strong performance can accomplish some re-definition of the role but, because roles are also norms that apply to a category of persons, some of the essentials must be performed.

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[1] This latter point is one made by Stouffer (1949) in a laboratory study. He claims that there are a number of different actions which will be approved in a given situation: these expectations should be described as having a range rather than exclusive choices.

ROLES IN THE INTERACTION PROCESS

Obviously, few roles are soliloquies; even those roles played in solitude (i.e., artists, composers) are directed towards someone either imagined or real. It is therefore meaningless to discuss role apart from an interactional context.

1. Parsons (1951, pp.38-39) discusses role interaction in terms of reciprocity of expectations. If alter and ego can find no complementary or common ground to govern the relationship, they cannot play meaningful roles together.

2. Rushing (1964) points out that not only is a role player's behaviour clearly prescribed by a set of definitions but it is also integrated with behaviour of role partners (a clerk expects wages from employer; employer expects clerk to wait on customers). Norms, however, do not demand identical responses from both role partners. Consensus or complementarity is an extension of prescriptive assumption, and some degree of complementarity must characterize all stable social relationships (pp.10-11).

3. Snoeck (1966) states that any person who is actively involved with an office holder's performance presumably holds expectations regarding that role.

MULTIPLE ROLE INTERACTION

1. Any person's surroundings can be viewed as a variety of social systems composed of the actions of individuals, the principal units of which are roles and the constellation of roles (Parsons and Shils, 1953, p.197).

2. All persons occupy multiple status, and for each there is an associated role (Linton, 1936).

3. Individuals have multiple social roles and tend to organize behaviour in terms of structurally defined expectations assigned to each role (Merton, 1957b,p.116).

ROLE-SETS

Each status has its distinctive role, with a particular social status involving an array of associate roles. "The individual engages, by virtue of one of his positions, in several role relations with different individuals" (Goode, 1960).

1. Merton (1957a) who coined the term, defines "role-set" as a complement of role relations which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status, (i.e., status of public school teacher has a distinctive role-set relating teacher to pupils, colleagues, school principal, board of education, parent-teacher association, and professional organizations). "Role-set" differs from "multiple roles" inasmuch as the latter deals with roles associated with various statuses rather than a single social status system. The complement of social statuses of an individual is designated as his "status-set"; each of these statuses in turn has its distinctive role-set. Role-set and status-set concepts are structural and refer to parts of the social structure at a particular time. These can change and if these changes are socially patterned they are designated as a "status-sequence" (e.g., medical student, intern, resident, independent medical practitioner). These patterned arrangements can be held to comprise the social structure. The social structure must manage to organize sets, sequences and statuses of roles with sufficient order so that most of the people, most of the time, will be able to go about their social and business life without having to improvise new adjustments in each new situation.

2. Kahn and Katz (1966,p.175) claim that "all members of a person's role-set depend upon his performance in some fashion; they are rewarded by it, judged in terms of it, or require it in order to perform their own tasks." Because of this,one's role-set members not only help define role and expected role behaviour,but also communicate these perceptions and expectations to the focal person.

MODEL OF A ROLE EPISODE-BASED ON FOUR CONCEPTS

(Kahn and Katz, pp.182-183)

Role Senders			Focal Person	
Expectations	Sent Role		Received Role	Role Behaviour
Perception of focal person's behaviour; evaluation	Information attempts at influence	1	Perception of role and perception of role sending	compliance; resistance; "side effects"
I	II		III	IV
		2		

1= process of role-sending

2= feedback; how role-sender estimates compliance he has induced on focal person and how he prepares to initiate another cycle.

PURPOSE OF STUDYING ROLE

GENERAL

Organizational role behaviour can be analysed within three different contexts:

1. Organizational or structural factors which are independent, at least analytically, from the individual-personality factor.
2. Patterns of interpersonal behaviour within the organization.
3. Individual idiosyncratic behaviour.

These factors are not necessarily isolated from one another. Kahn and Katz (1966, p.171) claim that role concept:

> ... is at once the building of social systems and the summation of the requirements with which the system confronts the individual member. Indeed, it has been touted for a generation as the example of a concept uniquely fitted to social-psychological investigation.

Merton (1957b, p.368) asserts that Lintonian concepts of status and role serve to connect culturally defined expectation with patterned behaviour and relationships which comprise the social system, thus making them essential to the understanding of social structure.

Numerous authors have employed some facet of role in organizational research. Among these studies are:

1. Miller and Form (1951,pp.426-442) who, by emphasizing the structural characteristics and ignoring technical skills of the job, claimed that description of social character of jobs has lagged far behind technical descriptions. They developed a rating scheme for analysing all positions in a given organization according to the social demands impinging on a given role (e.g., social leadership, scope of social contact, social demands "off" the job). The inference here is that only by understanding the kind of role-interaction that each given position, by its very nature, demands can job selection and placement be efficient and high labour turnover be avoided.

2. Kahn et al. (1964), define an organization as an open system, a system of roles. Organizations consist of continuing interdependent cycles of behaviour, related in terms of contribution to a joint product (p.388). Since role is defined in terms of its relationship to others, role-set is the basic unit of which an organization is constructed (p.389). The occupant of one role is concerned and dependent upon the behaviour of the occupant of another role; he has his own expectations about the roles of others and acts to influence these persons (p.388). Therefore, to understand and predict a man's behaviour on the job, one must ask what other jobs and what other persons he is connected to, and the nature of these connecting bonds, e.g., formal authority, personal liking, task dependence, etc. (p.389).

ROLE CHANGE: ROLE DEPENDABILITY

Two inherent needs of any organization are role dependability and allowance for change. In both of these areas the understanding of role behaviour is essential (Kahn et al. 1964).

Role Changes

1. Kahn et al. contend that any individual job changes involve complementary changes in all members of the role-set that the individual is directly connected to in the organization. Leadership in organizational life

is forever engaged in efforts to promote some kinds of change and prevent others. In the majority of cases, management has utilized the wrong unit for achieving change. Because roles are interdependent, concentration should be on the entire role-set rather than on a specific position (p.396).

2. Lewin (1951) argues that if a change in the individual is desired, the direction of this change must be supported by the group and/or cultural norms in order to avoid conflict.

Role Dependability

In interdependent processes of organizational production each member must do his part. The more complex and specialized the organization becomes, the greater the need of interdependence and conformity to the requirements of organization role, e.g., a missing, single field-hand in a cotton picking gang reduces the total product by the amount of his output; a single unperformed function on an assembly line makes the total product defective or inoperable (Kahn et al.).

ROLE TRAINING

The studying of role and role-set behaviour is especially relevant in a study relating the world of school and the world of work. Much early role-training takes place in the family and community, but school experience is a factor in the acquisition of new roles and competence in playing them. Students can learn a relatively new range of roles; they experience new kinds of reciprocal relations and they learn, some more than others, how to handle role problems in complex situations.

1. Zaleznik and Moment (1964) theorize within a psychoanalytical framework and argue that the individual has a tendency to adopt a fairly limited number of roles in his repertoire of interpersonal relations. These can be examined from the point of view of the genetics of developmental patterns consisting of the person's history which results in his "here and now" capacities and limitations in role-performance in a group (pp.19-20). In various person-object structures, three types of relationships are recurrent in group settings: (a) ego-superior, alter-subordinate; (b) alter-superior, ego-subordinate; (c) ego-alter have equal status. These settings become, for the individual, an acting out of historically relevant patterns; thus the superior-subordinate relationships become settings where previous father-son relationships are recreated; peer relationships are experienced as past sibling interactions (p.20). Based on past experience a person may expect to take a leadership role in a group, to be rejected or treated with hostility, to be dependent, etc. He will communicate these expectations to others subtly but clearly (pp.52-53).

2. Levinson (1959) asserts that the individual's role-concept is only partially formed within his present organizational setting. His ideas about occupational roles are influenced by childhood experiences, formal training, education, etc.

3. Brown (1965, p.447) claims that personalities are formed by early roles and that once formed affect the selection of, and the performance in, later roles.

4. Lewin, Lippit and White (1939) found that an army officer's son was one of the few children who, in the school environment, preferred an autocratic climate. This presumably was based on his early role training.

5. Sarbin (1954, p.227) says that actions which are patterned into roles are learned through two processes:

a. Intentional instruction - an intentional program is designed to teach a child certain patterned role behaviours; some cultures stress reward for commission of desired act, others stress punishment for commission of undesired acts. Role behaviour is taught through the agency of other persons, thus an individual learns, in a context of interaction, that others have expectations of him and he comes to expect patterned responses from them;

b. Incidental learning - the child adopts the way of others in his environment. If the child's social environment is made up of only a few individuals, the child will have fewer opportunities to identify with a broad range of roles.[1]

6. Kahn and Katz (1966,p.195) disagree with the psychological concept of early personality formation. They believe personality is essentially the product of social interaction and that this process continues throughout life. Their view is an important one for the effectiveness of retraining programs.

7. Sanford (1962) claims that an individual must permit himself to experience a variety of roles and tasks in order to develop an objective self-appraisal of what he can and cannot do in relation to his own aspirations. College experience can help the student to postpone commitment to various adult roles as long as he is actively engaged in activities calculated to bring out his potential (pp.279-282). Sanford also says that educational programs are designed on the assumption (explicit or implicit) that if students do things

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[1] Sarbin's theory is most relevant in examining lower class children and their learning problems. With few acceptable middle class cultural role models in his immediate environment to identify with or imitate, the lower class child's role repertoire and role competence do not measure up to middle class standards. This is one of the inherent arguments of those in favor of school integration. In an all Negro school, it is impossible for the child to learn a variety of culturally acceptable social roles, as well as the obvious technical ones, that he will need to use in adult life.

in the right ways and for a long enough period of time, they will learn to develop in the right way (p.63).

8. Dalton (1959,pp.164-166) contends that if a student attends university with a vocational as well as an intellectual purpose it will help him learn the exploitive-manipulative part of the business executive role. University competition for grades, social contacts, deadlines, etc., is good executive training and an effective way to learn how to budget role-senders' demands.

9. Dalton's view is confirmed by Kahn et al. (1964,pp.99-106) who state that in organization positions those individuals will experience fewer conflicts if they have available coping techniques they have learned from previous similar experiences.

One additional dimension of role training must be examined if we are to understand the relationship between the school and work world, namely, the learning of sex roles. Although much of this training takes place in other social systems, the importance of school cannot be discounted. Much has been written about the fact that a female's academic training is similar to a male's academic training; that she competes with him within the school world but little of this training is useful to her subsequent to graduation. Authors, such as Hall and McFarlane (1962) found that girls upon graduating from high school are better trained for the work world, at least in terms of the immediate future. This is obviously an area which needs more research and closer inspection.

Brown (1965, pp.162-163) questions the equality of school training. He points out that Komorovsky (1964, p.188) found that girls are not expected to be as good in mathematics as boys because it is not feminine. It is Brown's contention that girls learn this lesson well and are less effective in arithmetic in the very earliest school years. This obviously results in mathematics as a masculine domain and diminishes female interest in the subject.

This kind of academic role-training will clearly affect male-female behaviour in the world of work. It will not only affect occupational choice but also sex expectations.

TRANSFERABILITY OF ROLES

Many authors discuss the transferability of roles. Some similar roles occur in quite different groups. For example, a disciplinarian role is associated with the father in a family, a foreman in a factory and a commander in an army (see Bates, 1955, 1956; Benne and Sheats, 1948; Thibaut and Kelley, 1959, pp.142-143 for further discussion in this area). The inference here is that role similarity facilitates the transfer of skills from one social system to another without too much additional role training.

1. Many authors such as Riesman (1950) have somewhat deplored the situation of individuals being able to shift so easily from one role to another because of their lack of internal commitment which results in other-directedness. Wilenski (1964) and Whyte (1956) also speak of the successful man as one who has shallow commitments and can shift roles easily with little

emotional impact. In addition, it has also been hypothesized that if role training in one system is "successful", role behaviour in a new or succeeding group will also be "successful".

2. Waller and Hill (1951) and Burgess and Wallin (1953) collected data which showed that married couples were more likely to be happily married if their parents were also happily married. Similar roles in different systems will not necessarily be performed in the identical manner or demand the same specific skills.

3. Bates (1955,1956) discusses how the disciplinary role includes slightly different norms within different contexts; "father" and "foreman" will differ in disciplinary role behaviour.

4. Wilenski (Seminar, 1967, McGill) contends that employers assume the transference of certain skills from the school world to the work world; if an individual has survived school, and has managed to graduate, he will then be adaptable, reliable and disciplined despite the fact that his training skills are not job relevant. Not all roles are transferable. Some kinds of role training inhibit the acting out of new roles.

1. Merton (1957b,pp.380-382) points out that socialization in certain statuses makes it difficult to act out the requirements of other statuses, e.g., those raised as Christian Scientists do not usually become physicians.

2. Kahn and Katz (1966,p.179) claim that the worker, "through a long process of socialization and formal training,within the organization and the larger culture of which it and he are parts, has acquired a set of values and expectations about his own behaviour and abilities, about the nature of human organizations and the conditions for membership in them."

Individuals have an occupational self-identity and come into a job in a state of "role-readiness." This includes the acceptance of legitimate authority and compliance to acts which he does not always understand or agree with.

There is some argument as to whether role shapes the attitude and perception of individuals,or if an individual is chosen for an organizational position because of psychological goodness-of-fit to the role requirements.

Lieberman (1956) argues that the role shapes the attitudes and perceptions of the individual rather than the individual being selected for his psychological goodness-of-fit to the role requirement. He measured perception and attitudes of employees in several plants over a period of years. When the project started, all members of the sample were rank and file workers; later some became foremen and others union stewards, and still later some reverted back to non-supervisory positions. The remainder continued to play their new roles. The majority tended to take on the appropriate role perceptions and attitudes in each role they played, either as they changed roles or reverted back to old ones.

ROLE CONFLICT AND AMBIGUITY

Most authors studying role have been concerned with role ambiguity and conflict. Merton (1957,p.380) hypothesized that the majority of role systems operate at considerably less than full efficiency and do not fully utilize their potential. It can be argued that some ambiguity and conflict is functional to organizations; their consequence for persons and organizations, however, must also be understood.

ORGANIZATIONAL INTERACTION

DETERMINANTS OF INTERACTION PATTERNS; STRUCTURAL

Since role is defined in terms of others, types of interpersonal relations in organizations must be examined. Not all organizations are similar in their restrictive demands. For example, military schools, the Armed Forces' organizations and highly bureaucratized systems are rigid in prescribed role behaviour and therefore more predictable patterns of interaction emerge. Other organizations, such as the progressive school, encourage flexible behaviour and interaction patterns are less predictable.

Thompson (1962) who examined role behaviour in terms of the reciprocal role relationships between organization members and non-members (e.g., teacher-pupil, salesman-customer) hypothesized that, depending on the degree of specificity of the organization's control over its member and the degree of non-member discretion, four different types of role structure will emerge:

Degree of non-member discretion	Specificity of Organizational Control	
	Member Programmed	Member Heuristic
Interaction Mandatory	I	III
Interaction Optional	II	IV

Examples:

Type I: Classical bureaucracy
Type II: Commercial transactions of mass produced products under competitive conditions
Type III: Therapy-oriented prison
Type IV: Voluntary Hospital

In each type, the contingencies and possible paths of interaction will be limited by the above two factors.

Other interactions are determined by the very nature of the job; a man on the assembly line has limited interaction alternatives, the president of a university has many interaction alternatives and is even free to create new modes of behavioural patterns.

1. The anthropologically-oriented researchers view interpersonal relations as a dependent variable affected especially by organization technology, the physical and spatial arrangement of work, and the formal organization as it establishes lines of communication and action (Zaleznik, 1965).

2. Walker and Guest (1952) found the working arrangements of the assembly line prevented development of a socially cohesive work group and did not foster work satisfaction and high morale.

3. W.F. Whyte (1961,Chap.9) in examining technology and work flow found these were related to interaction range and interaction frequency.

This of course does not mean, however limited the alternatives, two individuals in similar positions will perform identically. In higher status positions, however, there is more latitude for individual innovation.

Many writers have pointed out the significance of size in determining interactional behaviour.

1. Kelley and Thibaut (1954) found that with increasing size, the proportion of group members who were non-contributors also increased; active members became more and more differentiated from the group.

2. Bales (1952) found that as the size of the group increased, a larger portion of activity was directed to top men and a smaller portion to the rest of the group.

Bales (1953) found as the size of the group increased, the number involved in participation did not; a smaller proportion of members took part in group tasks.

3. W.F. Whyte (1961,pp.82-88) found that as a small restaurant increased in size the organizational structure changed. This in turn led to a change in interpersonal relations. As the organization expanded, relationships became more formalized and impersonal.

4. Barker (1960) and Barker and Barker (1961) in comparing an English and American town concluded that people in the American town, including extreme age groups, were in a shorter supply and greater demand than those in the English town. They were therefore more functionally important and participated in more settings with greater intensity.

5. Thomas (1959) found that group size was a less important factor in affecting the behaviour of members than the community setting of the organizational unit. Social workers in agencies of varying sizes located in rural or small communities had broader role-conceptions, were more in agreement with their supervisors as to their role, were more commited to their role and performed better than social workers in larger towns or city agencies.

INTERACTION GOVERNED BY RECIPROCAL NORMS

1. Zaleznik (1965,p.586), for the purpose of interactional role analysis, employs structural variables and processes external to the individual. Behaviour is analysed in the context of expectations brought to bear on the individual who is said to occupy a position and perform a role. While this does not ignore individual motivation it is oriented towards: (a) the demands of the situation, (b) actors meet the demands and (c) the way demands are maintained and transmitted through the culture.

2. Zaleznik and Moment (1964,Ch.6) define role performance as the attributes group members know about each other and the way they characterize each other. This provides the group with a basis for predictable social and interpersonal relations. Four factors make up the phenomena of individual role performance in interpersonal relations: (a) how alter perceives and feels about ego's role performance; (b) alter's behavioural response to ego's role performance; (c) the behavioural patterns of ego's action; and (d) what ego is trying to do during a behavioural performance.

There must naturally be some degree of mutuality in regard to expectation and obligations of alter(s) and ego(s) if the interpersonal relationship is to continue as an ongoing one.

1. Goffman (1961,p.19) argues that,"an encounter exhibits sanctioned orderliness arising from obligations fulfilled and expectations realized, and that therein lies its structure."

When individuals come face to face, however, there may not be a complete fit between ego's role performance and alter's perception and response to this performance; the transmitted organizational demands and role definitions will be carried out with a mixture of formalized and spontaneous conduct.

2. Thibaut and Kelley (1959,pp.145-147) contend that the most satisfying encounter will be one which enables each person to obtain maximal outcomes available to him while fulfilling the obligations of a particular role and at the same time enjoying fully other's behaviour and products.[1]

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[1] Complementarity alone does not insure satisfaction to both parties. A father may be performing a disciplinary role and the son may be submitting; this does not mean the son is enjoying his role or finding it satisfactory (see Thibaut and Kelley, 1959,pp.145-147; Bates, 1955,1956).

Methods of Stabilizing Divergent Behaviour Patterns

While some writers such as Haire (1964,pp.218-219) contend that group members tend to conform to the rules of behaviour that have been accepted as legitimate by members of the group, others have discussed a variety of mechanisms calculated to control divergent expectations and demands (see Thibaut and Kelley, 1954,p.134).

1. Gouldner (1960) examines a norm of reciprocity which holds that people should help those who help them if they want to be helped by others. Reciprocity relationships, although originally entered into because of some idea of narrow gain, reach a point where each party to the exchange develops an obligation of reciprocity, a feeling he should return what has been given to him. The norm of reciprocity plays a stabilizing role in human relations in the absence of a well-developed system of special status duties; it also contributes to social stability since all obligations at one time or another are open to challenge and may have to be justified. By reminding a role player that he owes a debt, the norm motivates individuals to conform to existing status demands.

2. Goode (1960b) claims that, whatever the explicit bargaining or understanding between one individual and another, the relationship is further defined and clarified by the institutional context. Thus in face of divergent expectations and demands, the alter-ego relationship is to some extent stabilized by external forces. Role obligations are strongly influenced by third parties who may either sanction the deviant person outright or, by reason of the person internalizing community opinion, force the parties to conform.

3. A psychological orientation for stabilizing interpersonal relations is developed by Festinger (1958,pp.156-163). A central tendency in interpersonal relations is towards a balanced system in which both personal and impersonal objects are valued in consistent patterns. If imbalance or dissonance occurs the person must reorient his ideas and perceptions in order to ensure a return of equilibrium.

ECONOMIC EXCHANGE THEORIES

Pure Theory

Many writers have related reciprocity in interpersonal relations to economic exchange theories.

1. Homans (1961) hypothesized that two or more individuals interacting are engaged in socio-psychological transaction in which valuable commodities are exchanged. The individual will tend to produce behaviour that is not only profitable for himself but not too costly. Rewards are seen in terms of money, esteem, friendship, etc., but can be interchangeable with cost in a given relationship (i.e., asking for help from someone else in an organization can cost the individual self-esteem but can be rewarded by promotion).

2. Blau (1964) contends that social interaction is a process of calculations analogous to the kind of calculation involved in investing and spending money. Relationships are based on an exchange with participants entering or withdrawing from the interaction in accord with patterns that add or subtract from his store of power or prestige.

Theories Based on Empirical Studies

1. Rushing (1964), in studying ancillary workers in a mental hospital, utilizes Homans' concept of cost and assesses various power strategies of the different groups in terms of costs incurred or avoided by the

actors. He distinguishes between three types of power strategies the individual can use against others to achieve his work goals. These strategies are either cost-inducing, cost-reducing or cost-preventing. The occurrence of each strategy is related to the degree to which the actor-other relationship is institutionalized. For those with highly institutionalized roles (e.g., Doctor) - cost is low; when role is not institutionally defined (e.g., the role of hospital recreator) the achievement of work goals is cost-inducing.

2. Hodgson, Levinson and Zaleznik (1965,p.57) claim organizations permitting highly flexible role performance must establish reciprocity in terms of interpersonal costs and rewards if they are to maintain some degree of stability and balance in the interpersonal matrix.

3. W.F. Whyte (1943,p.169) in his study of corner boys found that, while many controls tend to maintain an equivalence in an exchange for favours, not all boys paid the same price for violating obligations; if a leader neglected obligations the cost was high but those in lower statuses could ignore their obligations without too much cost.

Economic theories have been criticized because there are many relationships left unexplained. The institutionalization of roles and statuses, psychodynamic theories and group norms are largely ignored.

REFERENCE GROUPS

Some researchers have examined superior-subordinate relationships in relation to rewarding interpersonal interactions.

1. W.E. Henry (1948,1949) found business executives to be more responsive to superiors; they identified more with them and felt more personal attachment. Subordinates were viewed in a detached, impersonal manner; they were seen as "doers" of work rather than as "people".

2. Hetzler (1955) found that military leaders of greater advancement potential and present attainment looked primarily to peers and superiors for interpersonal relations and status gratification. They exhibited much less interactional competition with subordinates than did leaders of lower advancement potential and lower present attainment.

Some researchers have examined client choice in interaction situations.

3. Blau (1963,p.85) and Becker (1951,1952) found that government agency employees and teachers derived most satisfaction in interaction with middle-class clients having similar values. Only a small minority of Blau's social workers claimed that they made special efforts for lower class clients whose job needs were most urgent.

4. Gross, Mason and McEachern (pp.128-130) found that, in the school system, position incumbents specified a greater degree of obligation to those persons or positions they dealt with directly; school board members felt more obligated to the community but superintendents felt more obligated to teachers and other professionals. In regard to making certain policy decisions, however, school superintendents with a "moral" orientation considered the expectations of their professional groups; those with an "expedient" orientation were more inclined to consider the expectations of non-professional pressure groups.

5. The present superintendent of psychiatric hospitals felt his role obligations best fulfilled by cultivating his relations with external groups outside of the hospital: his predecessor experienced intra-organizational role-set pressures as of primary importance and devoted a major part of his time to subordinate interaction (Hodgson, Zaleznik and Levinson, 1965).

EXPRESSIVE-INSTRUMENTAL INTERACTION

Many writers have suggested that role differentiation is an essential element of a successful and ongoing interaction system. Most authors have dealt with this differentiation along "expressive-instrumental" dichotomy. Parsons (1951, pp.48-49) describes the instrumental axis as goal attainment roles with a possible renunciation of certain immediate potential gratifications. The expressive axis is described as emotional role behaviour oriented towards more immediate gratification attainment.

Family Theory

1. Parsons (1955, pp.45-47) claims that the nuclear family contains four fundamental types of role-status essential to its functioning: instrumental-superior (father-husband); expressive-superior (mother-wife); instrumental-inferior (brother-son); and expressive-inferior (daughter-sister).

2. Zelditch (1955, pp.314-315) argues that the family system must differentiate behaviours and attitudes if it is to exist as a system. The differentiation of roles will be such that in a normal nuclear family the male adult will play the role of the instrumental leader and the female adult will play the role of the expressive leader.

Organizational Theory: Small Groups

1. Roles in small group organizations are differentiated from one another; overt acts are expected of certain persons at certain times, while overt acts of other qualities are expected of other persons at other times. In problem solving, since there are different classes of problems, so will there be different components to leadership; there is no reason to believe that a single person will always combine them in a single role. The way in which

this differentiation takes place will depend upon many factors among which are, the nature of the task involved, personality differences of group members and positive-negative affect involved (Bales and Slater, 1955).

2. Homans (1950) says that few men are flexible enough to work out a two stage emotional relationship, one for the times authority must be exercised, and another for everyday routine relaxation. Homans also contends that because "familiarity breeds contempt", friendliness and authority rarely go hand in hand (p.247). In a subordinate-superordinate interaction, even though interaction is fairly frequent, the time will be held closely to the amount strictly required for business and the sentiments toward one another will be ambivalent. While the subordinate may feel an element of friendliness he might also feel constraint, respect or even awe for his superior (p.116).

3. Hodgson, Levinson and Zaleznik (1965,p.284) allege that top management of any organization, in order to be effective in facilitating organizational and individual goals and development, should consist of two or three member constellations characterized by: (1) role specialization, (2) differentiation among individual roles and (3) complementary relations among these roles. This role differentiation and specialization must look after both the expressive and instrumental needs of the organization while allocating these roles to the appropriate individuals within the organization.

4. Benne and Sheats (1948) theorize that two types of roles are necessary to the continuing function of a group: (a) task roles dealing with the seeking of information, initiating, evaluating, etc., and (b) building and maintainance roles dealing with harmony, compromising and gatekeeping.[1] There is a third set of behaviour acts they call "individual roles". These are

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[1] Gatekeeping behaviour is that which permits or excludes members from entering into interaction and reasserts group cohesion by limiting and directing conflict which might provoke destructive acts.

concerned primarily with the inner needs and tensions of the individual and not with group requirements.

According to Sarbin (1954,p.232) the above roles do not have the institutional support of traditional roles such as mother, father and daughter, but can be described with the same formal characteristics.

Laboratory Studies: Small Groups

Most of the work in this area is based on the Parsons-Bales models of small groups (Bales, 1952; Bales, 1953; Bales and Slater, 1955). In general, these studies have been oriented toward problem-solving tasks. The findings have shown small groups to be in a process of alternating modes of interpersonal relations because of an antithesis between instrumental and expressive needs which are both necessary to maintain group equilibrium. Task-oriented behaviour generates tensions within the group, and unless supportive-emotional behaviour is introduced, group survival and continuity are threatened. Too much expressive behaviour, however, impedes the completion of the task,thus instrumental behaviour must be re-introduced.

1. Slater (1955,pp.504-507) found role differentiation in high consensus groups to be specialized with different individuals playing the role of "task specialist" and "best liked" man. The idea-man and best-liked man also tended to be differentiated, with the former concentrating on task behaviour and exhibiting more aggressive behaviour while the latter concentrated on social-emotional problems, gave rewards and played a more passive role. Specialization tended to increase with time. In high consensus groups the various specialists did, however, work together in a complementary relationship.

2. Bales and Slater (1955) found low status consensus groups failed to develop a reintegration; they were therefore inclined to form a competitive constellation rather than a cooperative one.

3. The status struggle between the best-liked man and the instrumental leader could be avoided if a coalition was formed. Some individuals, however, are not satisfied with the system of specialized roles. When the likes of others go to the head of the best-liked man, he can conceivably compete with technical or executive specialists in a status struggle destructive to the group,both in terms of achievement and affective integration (Bales).

4. Moment and Zaleznik (1965,Ch.3) examined management executives in problem-solving group experiments. The participants were classified in a fourfold role typology based upon their perceptions of the task and the social relevance of one another's behaviour during group sessions. The roles typed were: (1) technical specialists, (2) social specialists, (3) stars (those possessing both good ideas and congeniality) and (4) under-chosen (those possessing neither good ideas nor congeniality). They found that those in each of the above role clusters exhibited different patterns of behaviour. The technical specialists avoided affective behaviour and were committed to task ideas, the social specialist avoided aggression, the under-chosen were committed to personal needs and the star was open and honest in his communication.

5. Etzioni (1965) in summarizing these dual leadership data evolving from laboratory experiments (and qualifying the results by noting that they have not been firmly established by field research) suggests that: (a) task oriented groups will be more effective in terms of achievement and member satisfaction when the group has both instrumental and expressive leaders; (b) the two types of leaders tend not to be provided by a single actor and (c) when two actors carry out dual relationship roles, mutual support is required for effective group leadership.

Organizational Theory: Etzioni

Etzioni (1965) attempts to integrate the Bales-Parsons model of small groups and a theory of complex organizations. He claims that not only leaders but all acts as well can be classified as expressive or instrumental. This same analytical distinction can also be applied to the functional needs of social systems (i.e., organizations have expressive needs to maintain integration of various parts of the system with each other as well as with the normative system).

The dual leadership concept is quite different when applied to complex organizations since in this system the participants: (a) have external organization role-sets and (b) do not interact as individuals but as representatives of departments, services, agencies and other organizations.

In an organization it is assumed that the group will take on the orientation of the most powerful leader, thus if the instrumental leader is stronger, the group will be task-oriented rather than socio-normatively oriented. All organizations require both expressive and instrumental leaders but each type of organization has a different need to control its participants according to its goals. For example, in segregating organizations such as prisons, because there are few tasks, prisoner leadership tends to be expressive. In producing organizations, instrumental leaders are needed since the orientation is more "calculative" towards the workers.

Etzioni applies this analysis to the training of industrial foremen. Foremen tend to be instrumental leaders dealing with productivity and technical matters. In industry expressive leaders tend to be informal, usually older workers. Human relation schools normally follow an undimensional leadership orientation and train foremen to be both expressive and instrumental leaders. This only increases the foreman's problems since he cannot carry out his impersonal-instrumental role and at the same time develop expressive relationships. In addition, the foreman is placed in a position in which he must compete with the informal-expressive leader with the latter being in a better position to win since he has no need to put instrumental pressures on the men.

Etzioni also hypothesizes that this conflict between expressive and instrumental roles is responsible for problems in many of our complex institutional organizations. For example, in a therapeutic mental hospital psychiatrists, by playing both the father and mother role, slow down treatment. If a doctor played (primarily) an instrumental role, and a nurse or social worker played expressive roles treatment could be facilitated. Schools are also guilty because they do not supply expressive leaders; the home room teacher who is supposed to fill this role has too many instrumental duties to permit her to be effective in this area. This lack of affect may account for the limited effect of high school teachers on the deeper normative orientation of their students.

Organizational Field Studies

Some field studies have disputed the dual leadership concept.

1. Walker and Guest (1956) found that assembly line foremen experienced little conflict because the highly routinized assembly line limited instrumental control.

2. Sykes (1958) found that prison guards, due to constant contact with prisoners, lose their commitment to instrumental tasks and, by accepting the values and norms of the inmates, become expressively oriented.

3. Kahn and Katz (1953) found that the most productive work groups had foremen or supervisors characterized by the workers as taking a personal interest in both their work and off job life.

4. Pelz (1952) discovered that supervisors who had a reasonable amount of influence with their own superiors, and also had skill in the human relations area, headed work groups with high morale. Those supervisors with little influence but with the same human relations skills had a less positive effect on morale.

In field research more evidence has been found supporting the positive effects of specialization than disputing it.

1. Zelditch (1955) examined data from 56 societies re role differentiation in the nuclear family. Task and maintenance specialization existed in all societies with different leaders playing these roles.[1]

2. Blau (1962) studied 60 caseworkers in a public welfare agency on the assumption that entering and maintaining relationships involves

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[1] Even though American middle class families tend to have an equal allocation of instrumental and expressive tasks, the father is supposed to remain primary executive member. This means that perhaps, contrary to Etzioni's claims, a human relations trained supervisor could be more effective in our society than in a more traditional one.

choosing between alternatives on the basis of expressive or instrumental needs. He found that: (1) workers tended to respect colleagues who shared the same particularistic work orientations and consulted each other more often; (2) when universalistic standards of instrumental evaluation were used (e.g., experience), free and easy sociability was possible between the colleague consultant and other workers; and (3) if others were obligated to defer to the colleague, and his status as consultant was not legitimized by respect, barriers of informal sociability tended to arise between them. In other words, universalistic standards legitimizing respect which in turn legitimized deference, relieved the strain which would otherwise have discouraged free and easy sociability.

3. Hodgson and his colleagues (1965) in observing the behaviour of three senior executives in a psychiatric hospital found that they formed a differentiated but cooperative triad; this they labelled an "executive constellation." The role of superintendent was mainly instrumental; the clinical director, even though he had the instrumental task of operating clinical services, played mainly an expressive role and even based his authority on love and supportiveness rather than instrumental mechanisms; the assistant superintendent specialized in an interpersonal style of friendliness and equalitarianism and functioned in the area of innovative activities.

4. Rushing (1964) in examining roles used an economic exchange orientation. He found that many of the ancillary workers (e.g., social workers, psychologists and re-creator) in a psychiatric hospital had difficulty in satisfying both their instrumental and expressive needs. When an actor's instrumental role was not institutionalized, when the therapeutic use for it was not accepted by the organization's policy makers, it was costly to him in terms of prestige deprivation, rejection, etc. The actor suffered even more if he defined his own role as primarily instrumental while others in his role-set defined it as primarily expressive.

5. Fiedler (1958) found evidence to support the hypothesis that task and maintenance functions cannot be incorporated into a single role. A leader must maintain social distance from his workers in order to carry out task functions effectively.

6. Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939, pp.38-43) found that it was possible for the foreman to develop expressive leadership only because he gave up the enforcement of management regulations and directives.

Criticisms

A criticism of literature in this area is that most writers treat the expressive-instrumental concepts as dichotomous; in reality there is a good deal of overlapping. In addition, these terms should be more clearly defined; supportive behaviour in a supervisory position can be instrumentally oriented and not necessarily destructive to task completion.

STUDENT ROLE-SET: TRAINING

In the area of student role-set, there is no real body of literature in either theoretical or empirical studies.

ELEMENTARY-HIGH SCHOOL: FIELD STUDIES (GENERAL-SIZE)

1. In discussing the adolescent school culture, Coleman (1961) refers to different reference groups with which the student can become involved. He makes some attempt to evaluate the consequences of affiliation on student role behaviour, but a good part of analysis is inadvertent.

2. Barker and Gump (1964) in comparing large and small schools study the effects of size upon the behaviour and experiences of students. They found that students in small schools participated in a wider variety of activities and held a larger proportion of important and responsible positions than did students in large schools. Small school students also felt more obligation and responsibility to participate in a new activity. Academically marginal students in small schools experienced almost as many forces towards participation as non-marginal students; this was not so in large schools. The authors conclude that if it was assumed that "the best way to learn is to do" and the best way to learn responsibility is to have it, then the small school is a superior one for role training (p.135). Other field researchers have also examined the relationship between group size and performance.

3. Larson (1949) found a larger proportion of students in large schools than in small schools reported that they engaged in few or no activities; they also reported more difficulty in getting into activities.

4. Anderson, Ladd and Smith (1954) found the proportion of graduates who reported participation in extra-curricular activities as valuable was negatively correlated to the size of the school they attended.

ABILITY GROUPING: FIELD STUDIES

There have been many studies done, not by sociologists but by educationalists, in the area of ability grouping.

Some have focused on academic training.

1. Otto (1950) found evidence that slightly favoured the use of ability grouping; the greatest effectiveness was indicated for dull children, next greatest for the average child, least beneficial for bright children.

2. Miles (1954) and Passow (1958) in comparing regular and special classes found progress was more favourable in homogeneous classes.

3. Ekstrom (1961) in evaluating studies re ability grouping, concluded that they failed to show any consistency in findings. One reason for this is the variety of experimental conditions and methods and purposes of the different researchers. In experiments that specifically provide for differentiation of teaching methods and materials for groups at each level, results tended to favour homogeneous classes for bright students.

Some researchers have focused on social training.

1. Detjen and Detjen (1952,p.53) found that young persons choose their friends from others who are near the same age, have about the same mental capacity, occupy the same socio-economic station in life and have similar interests. They have a tendency to reject those who differ greatly.

2. Dietrich (1964), Sorenson (1948,p.61) and Mann (1957) found ability groupings made little difference in circumscribing friendships. Even in heterogeneous classes the tendency is for "bright" children to select "bright" companions and "dull" children to select "dull" companions.

3. In studies related to the children's attitudes to homogeneous ability groupings (Dade county report, 1958; Luchins & Luchins, 1948; Mann, 1960; Newland, 1960; Byers, 1961) it was again pointed out that there was little mingling between ability groupings, even in partially segregated schools. While some gifted children complained about the limitation of their contacts with other children, they were inclined to perceive "segregation" as a class system: those in lower groupings tended to have negative self-images while gifted students tended to have positive self-images; the latter felt more desirable and "special".

Criticisms

It should be pointed out that these studies must all be examined closely since, in many cases, ability grouping is a mechanism used by some communities to avoid desegration laws. This will naturally contaminate results if race, socio-economic position, etc., are not controlled.

SPECIAL TRAINING SCHOOLS: FIELD STUDIES

Much of the literature in this area concerns itself with socializing institutions which, by strictly controlling role behaviour and role-set contacts, force the individual to identify with a role and a new role concept (see Dornbusch, 1955; Hughes, 1956; Merton in Merton, Reader and Kendall, 1957).

Huntington (1957), using Merton's concept of role-set, studied the four-year training experience of medical students. Students formed relationships with various persons in their role-set; this role-set included faculty, classmates, nurses and patients. Student self-image, at any stage of training, tended to be in part the reflection of others in the role-set. The more they interacted with patients, and the more frequently patients came to them with their medical problems, the more the students saw themselves as doctors.

ROLE-SET INTERACTION

In this section we will give special notice to the role-set range of the individual within an organization.

THEORY

1. Homans (1950,p.145) theorized that the higher a person's social rank, the wider his range of interaction. In addition, the higher a man's social rank, the larger the number of persons who originate interaction for him, either directly or through intermediaries (p .182). Homans based this argument on W.F. Whyte's (1943) findings that corner boys who were not highly valued had to seek out others,rather than be sought out by them. Homans contends that this same argument can be applied to business organizations (p.182).

2. Miller and Form (1951,pp.426-442) developed a theoretical scheme to evaluate the relationship between the range and kind of role-set relationship in a given position. They also examine the social skills demanded by this position. The social skills they referred to were the ability to: (1) make social contacts, (2) direct individuals and work groups, (3) co-operate with members of a work group and (4) assume personal responsibilities for others. Holding work loads equal they plotted the social skills and role-set range of different jobs within industrial organizations and concluded the obvious - that jobs with high demands for social skills also require assuming responsibilities for others. It is also implied that the smaller the role-set network of a position, the less diversified the social skills demanded by this position.

3. Coser (1961) applying Merton's distinction between attitudinal, behavioural and doctrinal conformity (Merton, 1959) and relating this to his theory of role-set, identified some mechanisms of social control.

a. Depending upon the situation and the expectations of one's role-set members, different types of conformity will be expected (i.e., in such primary groups as the family, attitudinal commitment is expected; in work role-set relationships total attitudinal commitment is not necessary).

b. Observability of the individual by others in his role-set while he is performing his job, and the type of conformity expected, will also determine the kind of social control or authority used. In a situation with direct observation between a superior and subordinate (such as a foreman and an operator or a teacher and a student) the superior will be concerned primarily with the subordinate's appropriate behaviour. He assumes some antagonism on the subordinate's part to organizational goals, thus these persons tend to be concerned with discipline. The higher a person in authority, the more he is removed from readily observing the behaviour of those much below him. He will therefore be more interested in results than behaviour or attitudes and will maintain a role of impartial distributor of rewards and punishment.

FIELD STUDIES

Researchers have directly discussed relationships within the organizational role-set. Among the more important studies are those of the Michigan Group (Kahn et al., 1964; Kahn and Wolfe, 1964; and Gross, Mason and McEachern, 1958).

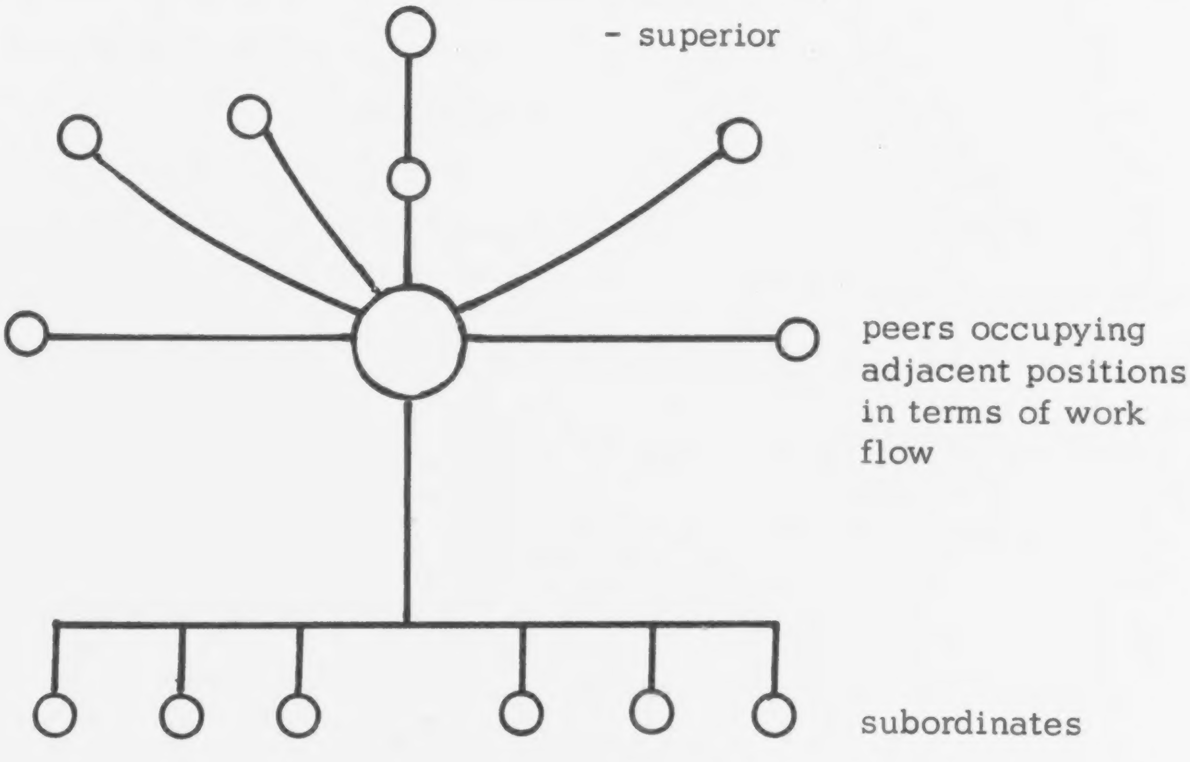
Michigan Group Studies

1. Kahn and Wolfe (1964) in studying large scale organizations, employed the term "starnet" based on a broader organizational concept than Merton's role-set. They theorized that all jobs and positions within an organization are connected because of the expectations of work associates about proper job behaviour.

Organization can therefore be viewed as a fishnet; the knots are jobs or positions, the connecting twine are expectations. An observer can pick up organization nets by any single knot and trace connection from it to all surrounding knots; this will enable him to locate all positions in the organization in terms of their relationship to the position with which he has begun. (This particular study is chiefly concerned with role-conflict and this will be discussed further in a section devoted to interactional stress.)

DIAGRAM 1

(Kahn and Wolfe, 1964)



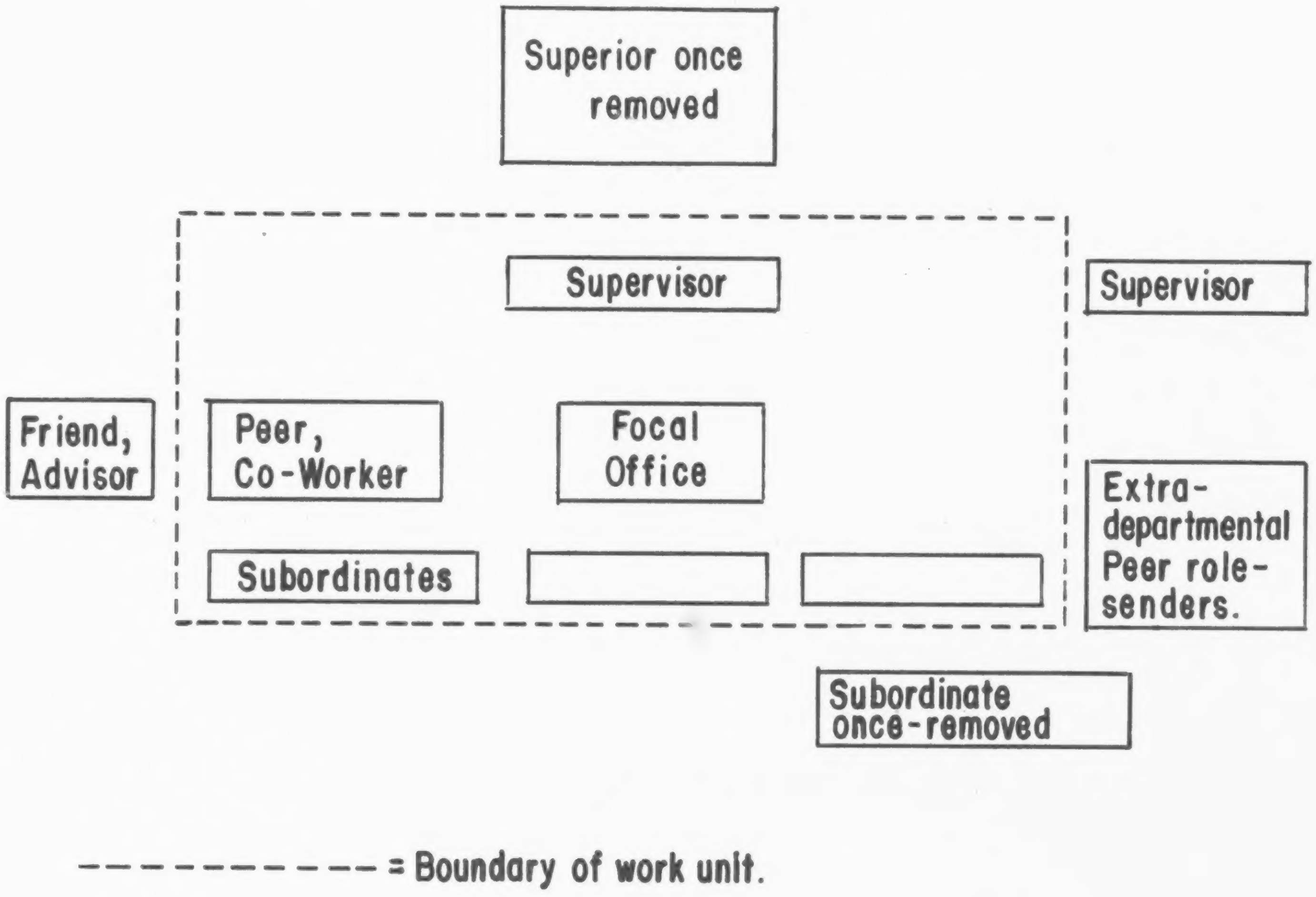
a. Straight lines represent direct functional connections between the "star" and his "satellites"
b. Curved lines represent connections with individuals outside of immediate net who are functionally important to star (e.g., close friend, older person, respected expertise).

2. Kahn et al. (1964,p.13) are more explicit concerning role-set. They say that each position in an organization is directly related to others, less directly related to still others and perhaps only remotely connected to the remaining offices included in the organization. Each member of an organization is directly associated with a relatively small number of others, usually the occupants of offices adjacent to his in the work flow or in the hierarchy of authority - and it is these that constitute his role-set (pp.13-14).

Kahn et al. extend the role-set by including others in and out of organizations who are either concerned with the behaviour of the focal person in his organizational role, e.g., wife, customers, suppliers or those who influence his behaviour on the job (pp.13-14).

DIAGRAM 2

Composition of Hypothetical Role-set (Kahn et al., 1964,p.41)



For any focal person in an organization there is not only a "sent-role" consisting of the pressures which are communicated by members of his role-set, but there is also a "received role" which consists of the focal person's perceptions and cognition of what was sent. The fit between the sent and received role will depend upon the properties of the senders, receivers, the content of the pressures sent, etc. (pp.15-16).

1. In examining the normative expectations of role senders they identified five dimensions which appeared to be characteristic of the organization as a system rather than of individual persons or rank. As a group, respondents believed that members of the organization should abide by the following rules: (1) members should obey rules and follow orders; (2) supervisors should nurture subordinates to some extent and take a personal interest in their welfare; (3) supervision should be neither too close nor too loose; (4) other members of the organization should be treated according to universalistic rather than particularistic standards; and (5) members should strive for high achievement and advancement in the organization (p.164).[1]

2. Perceptions and expectations of the focal person differed among members of the role-set because of three different types of structural role relations: (a) the degree of relationship between the role-sender and focal person in relation to getting the job done (in doing the same work); (b) the organizational proximity of the focal person and role-sender (not doing the same work); and (c) the relative organization status of focal person and role-sender based upon the formal control structure.

Dependent upon the above, demands for loose or close supervision, high rule orientation, etc., differed (Chap.10).

Gross, Mason and McEachern

Gross and his colleagues (1958,Chap.4) in their study of school superintendents in the Mass. school system refer to "position" as the location of an actor, or class of actors, in a system of social relations. They contend that a position can be completely described only by its relationship to other positions. This means that in the analysis of role position various levels of theoretical complexity can be employed. How simple or how complex the relational system will be is dependent on the given problem. For example, the studying of a superintendency position in a specific community will not be as complex as the study of this same position in an entire state. The focus of the study will also be an important factor in determining the level of theoretical analysis. There is a difference in the examination of relationships among counter positions; the latter is a far more complicated procedure (see Diagram 3).

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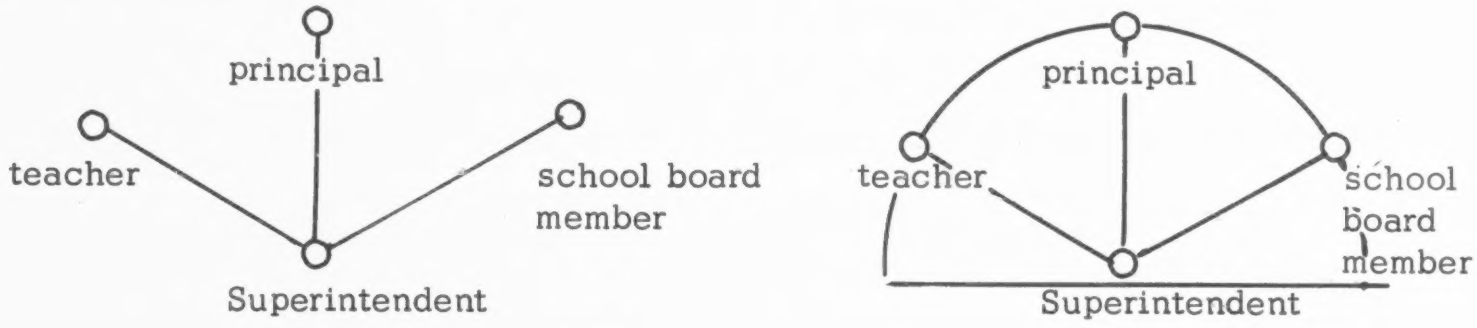
[1] Normative interpretation differed somewhat according to rank, tenure, occupational status, and supervisory status.

DIAGRAM 3



Model 1

"position-centric" model

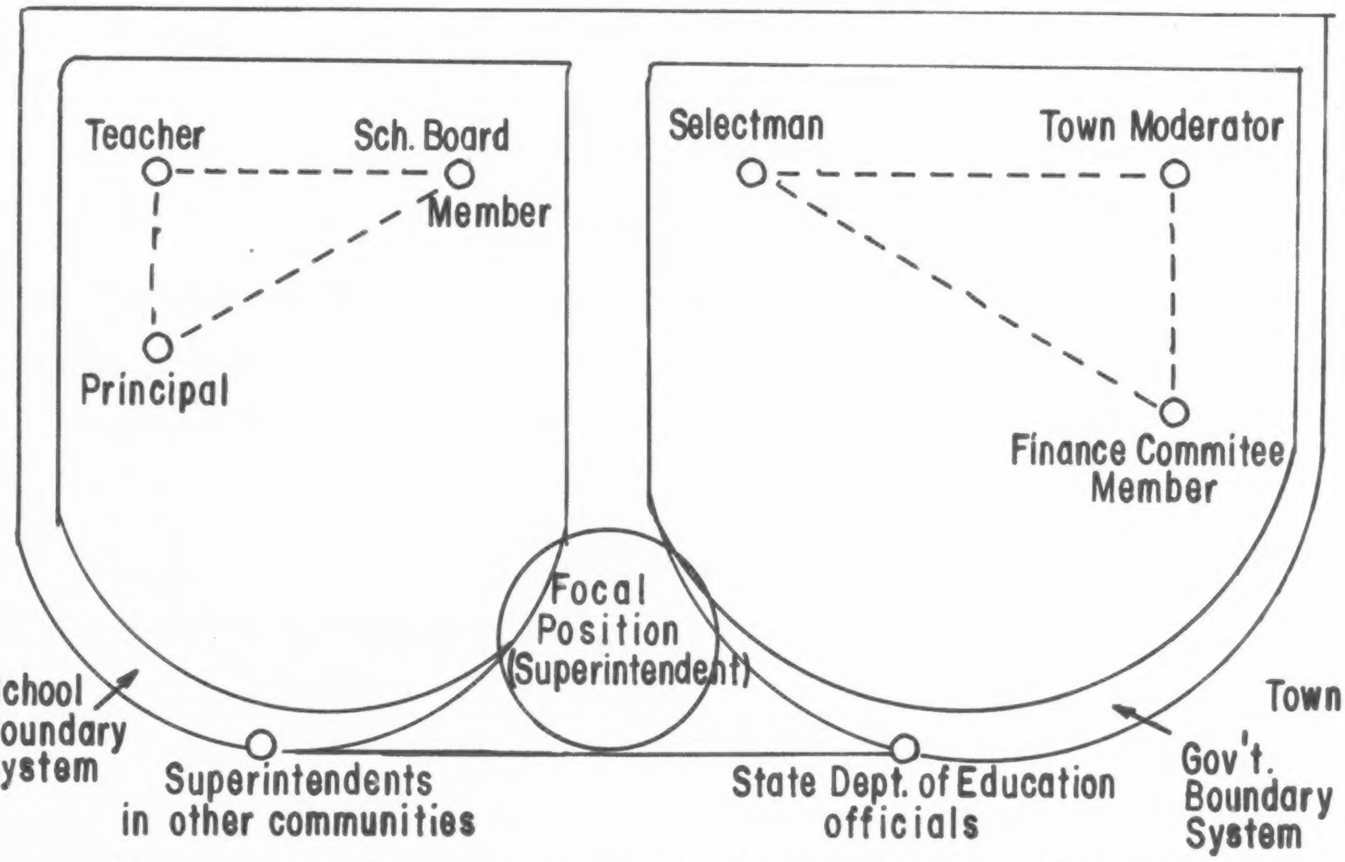
Model 2

"system" model

The authors conclude that a position can be completely described only by examining the total system of positions and the relationships of which it is a part (see Diagram 4).

DIAGRAM 4

Multiple Systems Model (Gross et al., 1958, Ch.4)


Community Boundary
Teacher
Sch. Board Member
Principal
Selectman
Town Moderator
Finance Commitee Member
Focal Position (Superintendent)
School Boundary System
Superintendents in other communities
State Dept. of Education officials
Town Gov't. Boundary System

Gross, Mason and McEachern's chief interest was in the relationship between superintendents and school board members; the expectations which the superintendent and school board members expressed for their own and other positions served as a starting point for the consideration of consensus on role definition. An incumbent of a focal position is confronted with role congruency when he perceives that the same, or highly similar expectations are held for him by others in his role-set (p.248).

Data supported the following types of consensus between superintendents and school board members:

1. In specifying the division of responsibility between a subordinate and a superordinate, superintendents (subordinates) assigned more responsibility to their own position than school board members (superordinates) assigned to it.

2. In specifying the obligations of an incumbent of a position to those in counter positions, he will specify a greater degree of obligation to those persons or positions he deals with directly. School board members reflected greater obligations toward the teachers and other professionals.

3. The incumbents of one position in a formal organization who have had more homogeneous preparation and/or socialization for occupancy of this position (such as superintendents) will have a greater role expectation consensus than incumbents who have not had this preparation and socialization (School Board Members).

4. Consensus between a superintendent and school board members is independent of the amount of time they have been together and of the amount of time they have been in their positions.[1]

Superintendents have a professional orientation that does not change during the course of an interaction, (no matter how lengthy), with non-professionals.

5. No relationship is found between superintendent and school board member consensus and homogeneity in the areas of: education, political attitudes, sexual composition, religion, and motivation of school board members.

Skills and Role-Set

1. Weinstock (1963), in a study describing the relationship between acculturation and occupational status, extends Merton's concept

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[1] This finding is contradictory to some other studies (see Wolfe and Snoeck, 1962).

of role-set to include role elements. Role elements are defined as the specific behaviour patterns expected of the status holder by different members of the role-set. One can speak of central elements such as technical know-how or educational requirements and peripheral elements such as social aspects of the role (e.g., a teacher is expected to wear shoes, and speak good English). The author hypothesizes that the higher the rank of an occupation on the prestige scale, the more numerous and specific will be the number of role elements connected with that occupational status and the more important peripheral elements become. His data show that skills are portable; the higher the immigrant is position on the occupational prestige scale in his country of origin, the greater the transference of his skills and the more acculturated he is likely to become in his new country.

2. W.F. Whyte (1961) uses a "systems approach to organization" which involves the interaction, activities and sentiments of members in relation to the social, economic and technical environment. A state of mutual dependence among elements of a social system exists so that a change introduced in any one (e.g., activities) will be accompanied by a change in others (e.g., interaction and sentiments, p.569). To illustrate this concept he uses as an example an industrial foreman who was a brillant success, and two years later was a dismal failure. The reasons for his failure had little to do with any changes in himself but were external to him. Economic, technical and personnel changes led to changes in his role-set. Technology and work flow determined, within limits, whom he interacted with and how often. Changes forced him to initiate activities for both other management and subordinates. His skills in this area were poor and patterns of reciprocity broke down.

DETERMINANTS OF ROLE-SET

Most of the role-set literature, both empirical and theoretical, does not clearly circumscribe the individual's role-set. In order to discuss intelligently role-set limitations, several dimensions of interpersonal behaviour must be considered.

Intensity of Involvement: Theoretical

Some theorists have explored the degree of organizational involvement on the part of the individual.

1. Sarbin (1954,pp.233-235) argues that any role may be enacted with different degrees of organizational involvement and intensity. The role of mother looking after a sick child requires a high degree of involvement: the role of customer in a supermarket requires only minimal participation.[1] Sarbin goes on to say that most cultures are so organized that the number of maximally intense roles are few; most roles do not call for a great mobilization of energy. He differentiates between roles which require relatively automatic and stereotyped responses because the individual is able to separate self and role, and roles which require complete self-involvement, with the unitary functioning of self and role.

Internal vs. External Roles: Theoretical

The importance of roles outside of the focal organization is becoming an increasingly important factor in determining the individual role-set range. Merton's single status concept is not always useful in modern organizations.

1. W.F. Whyte (1956) points out that present day organizations are rapidly extending their control to encompass more and more of the private, or "outside", lives of their participants.

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[1] It is important to note the reverse of this latter statement is not always valid; the customer may well be an important part of a supermarket checker's role-set. (See W.F. Whyte's study of waitresses, (1961,pp.125-133 for summary.)

2. Wilenski (1964) argues that in the future the life styles of both men at the top and highly mobile individuals will involve much mixing of business and pleasure; the stronger their career commitments the more they will integrate leisure and work.

3. Scott (1964,p.501) contends that while there has been little empirical research in this area there has been even less examination of theoretical problems such as: (a) what are the consequences, for organizations of various types,of external affiliations on the part of their members; (b) under what conditions do organizations attempt to extend their control over these relations and (c) when is the organization likely to be successful in these attempts?

Internal vs. External Roles: Organizational Studies

The importance of extra-organizational involvement can be seen in two opposite extremes.

1. Diamond (1958) examined a situation in which the extra-organizational activities of members assumed such importance that they rendered inconsequential the members' organizational status. In analyzing a 17th century Virginian company he found that the social status of an individual took precedence over his affliation with the company thus undermining the legitimacy of organizational control.

2. Goffman (1961) investigated what he called "total institutions" (e.g., concentration camps, mental hospitals, etc.). These kinds of organizations restrict the outside affiliations of some of its members in such a way that the only significant status is that which is held within the organization.

Most organizations fall somewhere in between the above extremes; they exercise some control over outside affiliations, but are not able to regulate them completely.

1. Schein and Ott (1962) explored the areas of work considered to be legitimate areas of management influence. By questioning superiors and subordinates, high legitimacy was found in areas pertaining to work; low legitimacy was found in non-job related areas.

Research Procedures: Field Studies

Authors such as Kahn et al. (1964) and Gross, Mason and McEachern (1958) in their theoretical discussions extend the concept of role-set to include all meaningful relationships. In actual research procedure this has proved to be rather cumbersome and they have been forced to limit the number of persons in an individual's role-set.

1. The major relationship explored by Gross and his colleagues was the one between the school superintendent and school board members, and their main concern was the superintendent position. In order to examine role-conflict they were forced to extend the role-set to include counter positions considered to be relevant by the superintendent. The incumbents of these counter-positions, however, were never contacted. The research procedure included a listing of 18 potentially relevant groups, e.g., PTA, town finance committee, mayor, press, local politicians, family, etc. Each superintendent was asked what the expectations of these groups would be in a given hypothetical situation.

2. Snoek (1966), in investigating the relationship between role strain and diversified role-set, limited contacts to five classes of role-senders; superiors, subordinates, departmental peers, company peers and

business associates outside of the company. Role diversity referred to the number of classes, not persons, that the office holder interacted with. Highly diversified role-sets were those in which the focal person interacted frequently with the five different classes of role senders.

3. Kahn and his colleagues first selected companies with decidedly different technologies. They then selected focal offices within these companies that varied in respect to authority, function and status. Non-supervisory employees were excluded since their lack of subordinate senders made their situation significantly different. In all, 53 focal offices were chosen. In order to identify the occupants' most important work associates certain *a priori* judgements were made which included the immediate supervisors, direct subordinates, the supervisor's superior, peers of the same organizational rank as the focal person or adjacent to the focal person in work flow structure and others in more distant parts of the organization related to the focal office in terms of the work flow system. In an initial interview the focal person would sometimes describe a role-sender whom he regarded as important; these persons were then included in the occupant's role-set. For reasons of administrative convenience, the number of role-senders for a single focal position was limited to 10; if a person's list of role-senders exceeded this number some subordinates were eliminated by the process of random selection. For a few focal persons with exceptionally long lists, senders were excluded on the basis of interaction frequency.

ROLE STRESS: AMBIGUITY: CONFLICT

Almost all writers refer, at one time or another, to some kind of role stress. Since avoidance of role-tension, at least for the so-called normal person, is almost impossible, this is an extremely important part of the literature.

DEFINITION-DESCRIPTION

1. Parsons (1951,p.280) defines role-conflict as the "exposure of the actor to conflicting sets of legitimized role expectations such that complete fulfillment of both is realistically impossible." The actor must sacrifice at least some of both sets of expectations or choose one alternative and sacrifice the other. Nonetheless, he is exposed to negative sanction and, if both sets of values have been internalized, he is subjected to internal conflict (see also Kahn et al., 1964,Ch.2; Kahn and Katz, 1966,p.184).

2. Zaleznik (1965) conceptualizes three types of role problems: (1) the failure of two or more persons to establish reciprocal role relations and/or the failure of a single person to decide how he should behave; (2) the non-crystallization of expectations-"role-ambiguity" and (3) the impossibility of integrating multiple roles.

3. Hare (1964,p.237) differentiates role conflicts in the following way: (1) "role collision" - two different individuals have roles which are in conflict in some respect; (2) "role incompatibility" - the same individual plays roles which have contradictory expectations and (3) "role confusion" - there is a lack of agreement among members about the expectations for a given role.

4. Gouldner (1961) defines interpersonal conflicts in terms of norms of reciprocity. Conflict occurs when: (a) rewards exchanged are

deemed inappropriate in the light of norms of behaviour governing the relationship; (b) qualities in the exchange work to the disadvantage of one, or several of the actors and (c) norms of behaviour are unclear and/or conflicting so that the exchange breaks down.

5. Gross, Mason and McEachern (1958, pp.245-248) claim that role conflict exists only if the actor perceives that he is being exposed to incompatible expectations. Incumbents of counter positions may actually hold contradictory expectations for an incumbent of a focal position but, if actor is unaware of them, the situation is residual.

Some writers have utilized a structural normative orientation in defining and describing role conflict.

1. Merton (in Merton and Nisbit, 1952, pp.720-723) hypothesizes that inadequacies or failures in a social system of inter-related statuses and roles, which inhibit and limit the collective purposes and individual objectives of its members, lead to social disorganization. This disorganization is a matter of degree, but can result in: the failure to maintain social patterns of behaviour; insufficient control of personal tensions; impeding members in attaining their goals and lack of social cohesion. Disorganization differs from deviance since it does not arise from people failing to live up to their social status requirements, but is due to the faulty organization of statuses in the social system.

2. Brown (1965, p.156) sees roles as sets of norms prescribing behaviour. Disagreement of any kind among such prescriptions must create a problem for the occupant of a role. If he wishes to do what is expected, or recommended, he will be in conflict if the recommendations are in conflict.

3. Blake and Davis (1964) discuss role-set conflict in terms of unintentional deviant behaviour. A well-known normative source of unintentional deviant behaviour is that of norms relating to the same status which

make competing or conflicting demands on the status occupant. Under these conditions an individual may exhibit deviant behaviour no matter how hard he tries. Even when there is no profound cultural disagreement about norms, the consensus is modified because they are diversely understood and interpreted by persons in different social slots. For example, even though a parent, school principal and student view the teacher in terms similar enough to be recognizable, her rights and duties are viewed differently.

4. Goode (1960) views role strain and the difficulty of filling role demands as normal. The individual's total role obligations are over-demanding. He cannot possibly satisfy all obligations imposed by the several organizations in which he holds positions, the several roles that accompany each position and the several activities belonging to each role.

LEGITIMATION OF EXPECTATIONS

There is some disagreement among authors as to whether or not, in defining role-conflict, expectations must be legitimate.

1. Parsons (1951,p.280) specifies that actors must be confronted by legitimized role expectations, legitimate being viewed as institutionalized.

2. Getzels and Guba (1954) specify legitimacy as meaning the mutual acceptance by ego and alter of expectations in a given situation.

3. Stouffer (1949) and Stouffer and Toby (1951) are concerned with universalistic and particularistic institutionalized role obligations.

4. Gross et al. (1958) deal with both legitimate and illegitimate expectations. Legitimate expectations are defined as those which the incumbent of the focal position feels that others have the right to hold; illegitimate expectations are defined as those which he feels they have no right to hold. Legitimate expectations are called perceived obligations; illegitimate expectations are called perceived pressures.

5. Kahn and Katz (1966,p.178) also deal with both legitimate and illegitimate expectations as perceived by the focal person. When sent-role expectations are seen as illegitimate they may arouse strong resistance forces which can lead to behaviour quite different from that which is expected.

SEVERITY OF CONFLICT

Writers have discussed the relative severity of role-conflict.

1. Getzels and Guba (1954) examine severity based on 2 factors: the relative incompatibility of expectations between roles and the rigor in which expectations are defined within a given situation. The greater the intensity of an actor's involvement in role-conflict, the greater his ineffectiveness in at least one role.

2. Kelley and Thibaut (1959) contend that, in interaction, the amount of conflict increase is a function of four variables: (1) the number of competing responses; (2) the degree of incompatibility of interference; (3) the absolute strength or intensity of responses and (4) the degree to which their strengths approach equality.

3. Kahn and Wolfe (1964) assume that the expectations of role-senders are sent as pressures to the focal person to do certain things and avoid others. These role pressures are experienced by the focal person as tension and conflict. In general, as the magnitude of the role pressures increase, so will the experienced pressure and conflict felt by the star.

ORGANIZATIONAL CONFLICT; STRUCTURAL

A good deal of organizational conflict is built in by the very nature of complex social systems. This conflict can be of 2 types: intra-organizational and inter-organizational.

1. Intra-organizational conflict is examined by Katz (1964). He distinguishes three fundamental structural conflicts:

   a. Functional conflicts induced by various subsystems within the organization. Some subsystems are inclined to face "inward" in the organizations and are concerned with maintaining the status quo; other subsystems favour innovation.
   b. The struggle between functional units in direct competition with one another. Units with similar functions can engage in hostile rivalry or good natured competition.
   c. Hierarchical conflicts stemming from interest groups' struggles over organizational rewards such as status, prestige and monetary returns. These interest groups develop their own norms and their own formal and informal organization.

BOUNDARY POSITIONS

Probably the first authors to discuss the concept of boundary roles were Parsons and Bales (1955,p.13). They theorized that because the father played a role in both the occupational and family system, he was performing essential functions in two separate social systems.

1. Merton (1957,pp.370-371) theorizes that the less integrated a society, the more often an individual is subjected to the strain of the incompatible social roles (pp.116-117). He finds that the major cultural basis for potential disturbance in a stable role-set is that anyone occupying a particular status has role partners who are differently located in the social structure and therefore may have differing values and moral expectations.

2. Kahn et al. (1964, Ch.6) define boundary positions as those in which some members of the role-set are located in a different system, either in another unit in the same organization, or in another organization entirely. They contend that most persons have at least an occasional job-related contact with those outside of their work unit, but that positions vary considerably with respect to "boundary relevance". This variation can be distinguished according to two dimensions: (a) the amount of time a person spends in business contacts with people outside of his work unit and (b) the importance of such contacts to a person's effective performance on the job. According to Kahn and his colleagues, boundary positions constitute a major battleground for inter-group conflicts. The occupant of a boundary position is between two conflicting groups and finds incompatible expectations of role-senders focused on him. In addition, a boundary person often lacks formal power over role-senders outside of his work unit and cannot guarantee their performance.

3. Snoeck (1966) hypothesizes that one of the unintended consequences of bureaucratization is increase of inflexible behaviour. This increases conflict potential with extraorganizational role senders (e.g., clients) as well as with relations among different units in the same organization which are intended to serve each other. Each department develops its own goals and rules of procedure and therefore the conflict potential is greater if role-sets cross department lines.

4. Gouldner (1960) claims that boundary positions can be functional; they are often utilized by one organization to carry on interaction with others and they also serve to maintain the boundary of the parent organization against pressures exerted on it by other organizations. He hypothesizes that men hired as staff experts to deal with union problems are viewed by both management and labour with suspicion. They become marginal men but this marginal position becomes an asset since they can

carry trial balloons between union and management without either side losing face or committing themselves to a firm position.

5. Blau and Scott (1962,pp.198-199) also claim some boundary positions to be functional. Individuals may hold membership in overlapping organizations, and may be pulled in opposite directions. These boundary positions, however, make them constant arbitrators since they must justify their several positions.

CONCEPTUAL SCHEMES FOR ANALYSING ROLE-CONFLICT

Many authors have dealt with the classification of role-conflict in relation to the number of roles and positions involved in a given interaction (see R. Brown, 1965,pp.156-161; Kahn et al.,1964,pp.19-21; Pugh, 1966; Gros et al., 1958).

1. "Inter-role" or "multiple position" conflict specifies that the actor must occupy simultaneously two or more positions. For this kind of conflict to arise two conditions must be satisfied: (1) the same person must simultaneously occupy two roles and (2) the two must make opposed recommendations or rules about the same area of behaviour (Brown, 1965,p.157). Authors who have dealt with this type of conflict are: Getzels and Guba (1954) who examined the roles of officer and teacher when the role was held by a single individual in the air force; Burchard (1954) who studies the strain between the roles of military officer and clergyman among military chaplains; Perry and Wynne (1959) who dealt with the role-conflict of a clinical researcher between his role as therapist and role as researcher.[1]

2. "Intra-role" or "Single position" conflict specifies that the actor is exposed to incompatible role-expectations by his occupany of a single

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[1] For examples in non-occupational literature see Komarovski 1946, Wallin 1950, Hughes 1945, and Stouffer 1949.

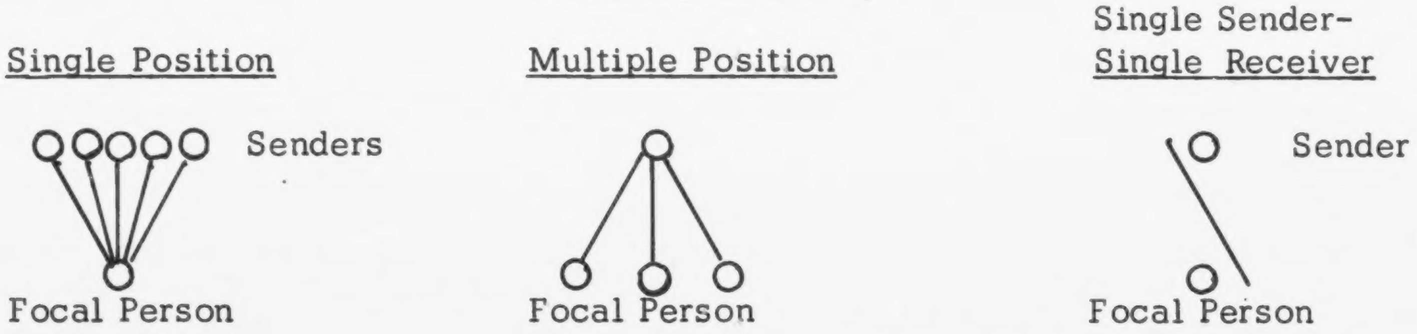
position. Most writers have examined systems in which the specified actor finds differing expectations among his role-set, the classic example being the foreman as the man in the middle or the scientist working in industry caught between bureaucratic and professional expectations. Authors who have dealt with this type of conflict are: Whyte (1961,pp.125-133) who described how waitresses must deal with and adjust to the problems and demands of the supervisor, service pantry workers, bartenders, checkers and customers; Hollingshead (1949,pp.140-141) who described the conflicting demands made upon Elmtown's superintendent of schools by the principals, teachers, pupils, school board and community; and Seeman (1953) who studied the variability in expectations held by a criterion group,or groups,for the position of school administrator.

Gross and his colleagues (1958) are concerned with incompatible expectations derived from both single and multiple position occupancy. Their major orientations were expectations and conflicting demands made upon school superintendents by others in the role-set, but they also examined the conflict of the superintendent when he played two roles such as husband and superintendent.

Kahn et al. (1964,pp.19-21) postulate four types of role-conflict, two of which are inter-role and intra-role conflict. In addition, they examine: (1) intra-sender conflict - different prescriptions and proscriptions from a single member of the role-set that are incompatible. An example of this is a supervisor telling a worker to acquire material through normal channels when it is unavailable through those channels, and at the same time prohibiting him from violating normal channels. (2) Person-role-conflict - the needs and values of a person in conflict with the demands of his role-set, for example, the pressure on an executive to engage in price fixing which is opposed to his own personal code of ethics. The person's own needs may conflict with behaviour acceptable to members of his role-set. For example, an ambitious man may be called by associates for stepping on their toes while he is advancing (this is actually a multiple position conflict since the individual is occupying two positions, his occupational one and his ethical one).

DIAGRAM 5

3 Kinds of Conflict


Single Position

Multiple Position

Single Sender-Single Receiver

MECHANISMS FOR REDUCING CONFLICT: THEORETICAL

How does one predict the behaviour of a person in a conflict situation? Some decision must be made on role choice; on which one is to be played in a particular situation, and on how it is to be played unless, as Parsons (1951, p.280) says, the conflict is transcended by redefining the situation, or evading it through segregation or secrecy.

1. Parsons (1951, p.281) contends that differences must be adjusted by an ordering or allocation of the claims of the different role expectations to which an actor is subject. An actor's role system is often in delicate balance and a change in one part may necessitate a change in other parts.

2. Merton (1957, pp.372-379) conceptualizes six social structural mechanisms which operate to produce less patterned conflict and facilitate coming to terms with disparate expectations:

    a. Differing intensity of role involvement among those in the role-set; for some in the same role-set a role may be central, for others only peripheral.

b. Differences in power of those in the role-set. This does not always mean that the most powerful will impose his will on others. Sometimes a coalition of lesser powers combines to attain a "balance of power"; sometimes the most powerful member's interest is peripheral and he will not be motivated to use his full strength.

c. Insulating role-activities from observability by members of the role-set. A focal person is not obliged to live up to all the expectations of his role-set at the same time.[1]

d. Observability by members of the role-set of their conflicting demands upon the occupant of a social status. Once observed, the participant can realize the conflict is not a plot against himself and can take realistic measures to deal with it.

e. Social support by others in similar social statuses with similar difficulties. Coping with role-conflict becomes patterned rather than idiosyncratic.

f. Abridging the role-set: disruption of role relations. This is rare. It is difficult for the individual to remove himself from his role-set and not from his status; he is more likely to do the latter.

3. Goode's theory, based on an economic orientation, refers to role relations as a series of "role bargains", a continuing process of selecting alternative role behaviours, with each individual seeking to reduce role-strain. The actor employs two major sets of techniques to manipulate his role behaviour: (1) he limits role acceptance by compartmentalization, delegation, elimination of a role-relationship, etc., and (2) he enters into

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[1] Too much insulation may miscarry; if a teacher or a policeman is fully insulated from observation by peers he may not live up to the minimum requirement of his status.

role bargains by choosing valued roles and manipulating his level of activity in role relationships with the intention of maximizing rewards and minimizing punishment.

4. Toby (1952) contends that institutionalized techniques exist for preventing role-conflicts from arising. These include: (a) role obligation hierarchies (e.g., excuses); (b) actor's claim that his lack of fulfilling obligation is involuntary (e.g., unavoidable accident); (c) etiquette rituals and (d) legitimate deceptions (e.g., white lies). If these techniques cannot be used, there are only a limited number of other alternatives: (a) repudiation of the role in one group, (b) playing off one group against another, (c) stalling, (d) redefinition of role(s), (e) double-life, (f) escape and (g) illness.

5. Getzels and Guba (1954) claim that theoretically an individual in a role-conflict situation may resolve this conflict (always omitting the possibility of changing the situation or withdrawing from it) in two ways: (a) Compromise: the individual attempts to stand between two roles and shift back and forth as the occasion demands and (b) Exclusion: the individual chooses one role and assimilates all other roles in the situation into it.

6. Stouffer (1949) postulates that if an individual has simultaneous roles in two or more groups he can conform to one and take the consequences for not conforming to the other or he can seek a compromise position hoping that the sanctions will be minimal. In most cases, however, there is a variability among group members in the extent to which a given value is held in common. This variability factor weakens sanctions against any particular act and facilitates compromise situations.

7. Merton (1957, pp.380-382) points out individuals differ in the number and complexity of statuses comprising their status-sets and therefore experience different degrees of difficulty in organizing role-activities.

Generally speaking, however, there is a consensus that counteracts potential conflict in complex status-sets; people generally give priority to some statuses and are empathetic when others are caught up in a conflicting situation.

8. Bates (1955,1956) postulates that in the short run individuals may minimize tension created by inconsistencies by separating two roles mentally, or by separating their enactment in time and space. In the long run inconsistency is reduced by changing roles, establishing an order of precedence or eliminating some roles entirely (see also Thibaut and Kelley, 1959,p.62). Within each position the less flexible roles become "dominants" and the more flexible roles become "recessives". For example, in the position of father, the role of "provider" is more inflexible than that of "playmate"; therefore, if the role player's job demands more of his time, he will be unable to fill his role of playmate frequently. In addition, when two persons occupying reciprocal positions interact they do so at any given moment within the context of only one of the roles which comprise their position. If they choose complementary roles, the conflict potential will be minimized (e.g., father is playing the role of teacher and son is playing the role of student).

ROLE-CONFLICT RESEARCH

LABORATORY STUDIES

1. Stouffer (1949) and Stouffer and Toby (1951) investigated the relationship between dimensions of personality and the resolution of role-conflict. In a hypothetical conflict situation, subjects tended to have a predisposition to behave in certain ways and were disposed to resolve dilemmas in either a universalistic or particularistic manner.

2. Sutcliffe and Haberman (1956) were also concerned with the relationship between social sanctions and universalistic-particularistic action. Using hypothetical role-conflict situations they found that social sanctions, social distance and publicity all affected the choice of universalistic or particularistic resolutions of dilemmas. The modes of operation, however, were not independent. With increased publicity, universalistic response followed and the more serious the act the more likely that the conflict was resolved in a universalistic manner.

3. Cervin (1955a, 1956) subjected a sample of individuals, who were neurotic and individuals who were anxious, to both approval and disapproval. He found that all subjects participated more under approval conditions and highly neurotic subjects were apt to be more rigid in withholding opinions when under disapproval.

4. Brown (1952), in comparing male and female role-taking skills, concluded that males were slightly more proficient than females in role-taking. He also found that role-taking across sex lines was more difficult than role-taking within a sex category.

5. Katz and Kahn (1966, p.194) citing works by Sarbin and some of his colleagues say that a series of experiments showed that the individual's ability to respond to role expectations was a function of various personality

attributes. The ability to perceive role-demands accurately was related to neuroticism. Role-taking ability was based upon the individual's capacity to empathize and schizophrenics and psychopaths were unable to engage in role-taking.

6. Sarbin and Stephenson (1952) hypothesized that persons characterized as rigid would be less able to adopt a role not congruent with ego structure. Rigidity and flexibility were defined by high scores and low scores on the ethnocentrism scale. The prediction was confirmed since persons scoring high on ethnocentrism more readily enacted a congruent authoritarian role than an incongruent equalitarian role; persons scoring low on ethnocentrism were able to enact both the incongruent authoritarian and congruent equalitarian roles.

FIELD STUDIES

Laboratory studies are somewhat contrived, especially for conflict situations. Field studies are probably more fruitful in the understanding of stressful situations. The area of stress is an important one because so many workers are caught in conflict situations. Kahn and his Michigan colleagues (1964,pp.19-21), in a nation-wide study of male workers, found that nearly 50% of their sample reported being caught between two conflicting persons or factions; 15% reported this to be a serious or frequent problem; 39% found themselves unable to resolve the conflict; and 88% located conflicts in the hierarchal structure with pressure being exerted from above. In addition, almost 50% of the sample claimed that required tasks were impossible to complete within the time limits.

Student Role-Conflict

There are few systematic studies in this area although authors such as Coleman (1961), Seeley et al. (1956) and Waller (1932) have engaged in collateral research.

1. Musgrove (1964), in assessing role-conflict experienced by English adolescents and pre-adolescents, was interested in how the students felt various adult and peer groups expected them to behave in relation to how they in fact behave. He concluded that it was the experience of a particular type of educational institution rather than pre-existing personality traits or social background which promoted or reduced role-conflict. Grammar schools made extreme demands on pupils and emphasized their dependence on and protracted exclusion from, full involvement in adult affairs: this induced deeper conflicts than the modern school with its more moderate demands and more immediate relationship with the adult world.

2. Bene (1957) in comparing grammar school boys and modern school boys also found that grammar school boys had more negative feelings towards their environment; they perceived negative feelings to come from adult figures more often and were more critical of manners, behaviour and habits of both peers and adults. These findings were not explicable in terms of social background.

Ambiguity: Strain

1. Indik, Seashore and Slesinger (1964) found that women with advanced degrees all showed high related job strain scores. They also found the rate of job tension declined more rapidly for older people with lower levels of education.

2. Wispé and Thayer (1957) examined agents, assistant managers and a district manager in a life insurance company. They found that the occupants of the position of "assistant manager", about which there was the greatest amount of ambiguity, showed the greatest amount of anxiety.

3. Kahn et al. (1964) found that ambiguity resulted if the position of an incumbent was not clearly defined in terms of supervisory evaluation, advancement opportunities, scope of responsibility and the way others expected the incumbent to perform. Individuals subjected to ambiguity tended to be low in self confidence and confidence of others, and high in tension.

4. Snoeck (1966), Kahn et al. (1964) and Gross et al. (1958) report strain related to organizational size and lack of consensus as being more frequent in large systems.

Single-Role Positions

1. Hollingshead's (1949,pp.140-141) description of conflicting demands made upon a school superintendent by members of his role-set is a classic example of intra-role conflict. By trying to please the school board, teachers, students and others in his profession and in the community, he ended up by pleasing no one.

2. The foreman, or first line supervisor, is another classic example of intra-role conflict. He is expected to please his subordinates, his superiors and staff members, and is caught in conflicting role prescriptions (see Bendix, 1956; Wray, 1949; Roethlisberger, 1945; Whyte and Gardner, 1945).

3. Turner (1947) found the naval disbursing officer was unable to enact the "impartial" dimension of his role since a good many of his "clients" were also his superiors in rank and consequently held power over him in other relationships.

4. Seeman (1953) studied conflicts between superintendents and teachers in the Ohio school system. He found: (1) conflict between success ideology and equality ideology (superintendents were expected by the teachers to spend time with superiors and community influentials in order to obtain teacher salary increases and at the same time they were also expected to be thoroughly familiar with what was taking place in the classroom); (2) disagreement over particularistic-universalistic role demands (there was no consensus or definition of how personal or impersonal the superintendents' relationship should be with teachers); (3) there was no agreement as to how the superintendent should play his authority role. Some subordinates did not want to be bossed, but at the same time some felt that decisions and responsibilities should be borne by him.

5. Whyte (1961, pp.125-133) in his study of waitresses and their attempts to cope with supervisors, pantry workers, customers, etc., all at the same time found that, although they all spoke of tension, only a small minority broke down and had to leave the floor. He generalized that "crying" behaviour was related to the length of the waitresses' work experience. The more experienced girls knew how to cope with varied role demands, they tended to help each other, were more aggressive towards pantry help and bartenders, had steady customers and made fewer mistakes, so therefore felt less supervisory pressure.

6. Snoeck (1966) related Merton's role-set (1957a) to Goode's concept of strain (1960) with the concept of "role-diversification."[1] Diversification in role-set was found to be an important source of role-strain because it increases the possibility of intra-role conflicts. Each class of role sender was apt to develop expectations that were more attuned to their own organizational goals, norms and values than to the total requirements of

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[1] Role-set is characterized as diversified if it involves a variety of role relationships with different office holders; diversification does not refer to the number of persons the office holder interacts with.

the office holder's role. The receiver was therefore apt to experience difficulty in integrating and reconciling the sender's role expectations of him.

7. Gross, Mason and McEachern (1958, pp.258-280) found school superintendents to be exposed to a complex role-conflict situation. They all were concerned with the expectations of the teachers and school board members, but some were also concerned with expectations of the PTA, town finance committee, the mayor and city council, local politicians, etc. On the basis of pre-tests, four situations were judged as most likely to evoke incompatible expectations: (1) hiring and promotion of teachers; (2) allocation of superintendent's time after his office hours; (3) salary increases for teachers and (4) priority given to financial or educational needs in drawing up school budgets. Using eighteen potentially relevant reference groups, each superintendent was asked what their expectations of him would be in each of the above situations. The findings were as follows: (a) 71% perceived that they had been exposed to incompatible expectations in regard to the hiring and promotions of teachers (the majority had a professional orientation and did not submit to pressures put on them, but made personnel decisions on the basis of merit); (b) fewest incompatible expectations were reported in the area of after hours time allocation (although over 53% reported role-conflict, 66% conformed to "occupational" rather than "family" demands); (c) of the 88% who perceived role-conflict in teacher salary recommendations, 64% recommended salary increases; and (d) the budget situation exposed the greatest number of superintendents to incompatible expectations. The authors found that those superintendents exposed to role-conflict (except in the time allocation area) derived less satisfaction from their current job, but this conflict had little effect on career satisfaction.

Professional-Bureaucratic Stress

Bureaucratic positions normally contain opposing pressures and organizational procedures which define appropriate behaviour for the role player, especially if he is a professional or has his own definition as to how he should behave.

1. Officials, especially those in service occupations, face the dilemma of either conforming to bureaucratically defined behaviour or to client demands which may well deviate from bureaucratic norms (Blau and Scott, 1962,p.52).

2. The demands of newly arrived immigrants, with little previous organizational experience, deviate considerably from organizational norms. This means that either the bureaucrat may conform to regulations and ignore client interest or disregard organizational norms (Katz and Eisenstadt, 1960).

3. Public employment agency workers are exposed to both bureaucratic and client demands. They reduce psychological tensions in two ways: by complaining to colleagues and by joking about clients (Blau, 1955, pp.82-96).

4. Bar-Yosef and Schild (1966) classify four types of responses to bureaucratic-client conflict: (1) "over-conformity" (lack of defence against superior-bureaucratic norms); (2) "under-conformity" (lack of defence against clients); (3) decisions based on criteria rooted in role-players' own value system of the unit (defenses against bureaucratic norms and clients); and (4) erratic, inconsistent role-playing (no defense against organizational pressures or clients). In further study of responses (3) and (4) in two Israeli towns the authors found that to the extent the bureaucrat's role image included general societal goals he was able to make decisions

based on his own, or his unit's value system. Independent value decisions were also more frequently found in a unit with a single individual acting as a repository for all conflicts. Erratic behaviour was most frequent in units without structural defenses to handle conflicts.

5. Corwin (1961) examined the bureaucratic and professional conflicts of loyalty in the nursing profession. He hypothesized that bureaucracy and professionalism, as ideal types, differed fundamentally in three ways: (1) the degree of standardization of tasks and procedures, (2) the degree of authority needed in problem-solving situations and (3) efficiency standards. Because client welfare is not always equivalent to organizational welfare, the nurse must often follow and enforce hospital rules which seem irrelevant to her professional function and training. In studying the effects of different types of nursing training, he found that graduates of degree programs (i.e., those trained in universities independent of hospital administration and faculty) experienced more role-conflict than graduates of diploma programs (those trained in hospitals). He argues that this was because collegiate graduates received little anticipatory socialization in bureaucratic processes basic to hospital procedure.

6. Merrill and Jex (1964) in examining math and science teachers' role behaviour found that teachers perceived a conflicting reward system. On one hand they felt they were expected to be equalitarian, non-competitive and expressive; on the other hand they felt a teacher was rewarded for being competitive, authoritarian and accomplishment oriented.

7. Becker (1951,1952) in studying school teachers found that they had an image of an "ideal" student which in reality was filled by middle class children. The degree to which teachers experienced problems and the exhibited teaching effectiveness, were related to the degree to which students exhibited "ideal" qualities.

Managerial: Hierarchical: Structural Stress

Contrary to popular view, it is not the foremen or lower levels of management that are subjected to the greatest amount of conflict. Most field research indicates that it is upper-middle management which suffers the most role stress.

1. Wolfe and Snoeck (1962) in studying organizational members experiencing "strong conflict" only found the following proportions of felt conflict at different hierarchical levels: 0% foremen, 44% lower management, 82% middle management, and 52% upper management. They accounted for these differences by way of the greater co-ordinating activities carried out by those in upper echelons.

2. Kahn et al. (1964) found that innovative roles were characterized by conflict. The occupants of these roles were involved in conflict with the "old guard" who wanted to maintain the status quo.

3. Dalton (1959,p.249) found that the department head as "middle management" had to bear the most inconsistent burdens. He had to contend with unions, higher management, ambitious subordinates seeking his position, members of other departments and staff; he also had to aid subordinates and advance his own career.

4. Kahn and Wolfe (1964) found levels of tension high in upper management,even when the external pressures were not strong. They felt the lower management's tension level was more a direct response to the amount of sent pressure while upper management responded to other sources of pressure,which perhaps were partially internalized and more powerful than sent role pressures.

5. Kahn and Wolfe (1964) found lower management to be subjected to a sense of futility when under pressure,while the sense of futility expressed by upper management was unrelated to role pressure and more due to introspection.

6. Kahn et al. (1964) found that in a role-set, superiors held a concentration of power through legitimation, rewards and coercion. Peers and subordinates had to rely on expert, referent or indirect influence techniques to exert enough pressure on the focal person so that he would feel stress (Chap.11). They found the negative effects of role-conflict to be most severe when the individual's organizational relationships bound him closely to his role-set. When a person must deal with others who are highly dependent on him, who have high power over him and who exert high pressure on him, his response, psychologically if not behaviourally, is typically one of apathy and withdrawal. Under these conditions job satisfaction is low.

7. Line-staff conflicts have been frequently documented in industrial relations literature as a source of conflict. Normally, the attention of linemen is on production and service, the focus of staff is on top management. Dalton (1950) pointed out differences in background is one source of antagonism; the staff officers are more highly educated than line officers, more status conscious, more prone to innovative activities, more ambitious and more mobile.

Multiple-Role Positions

1. Getzels and Guba (1954) examine role-conflict of individuals who were both air force military officers and air force military teachers. They found that the effective handling of role-conflict involved three concepts: (1) the choice of major role, (2) the congruence of needs and expectations and (3) the legitimacy of expectations within the situation. The individual who chose as his major role the one that was also the legitimate role, (in this

case the military officer), experienced little conflict; the individual who thought of himself primarily as a teacher was far more disturbed by conflicting expectations. Getzels and Guba also found that those air force schools strictly adhering to military tradition were associated with less role-conflicts.

2. Burchard (1954) studied the strain between the roles of clergyman and military officer among military chaplains. Most chaplains suffered severe strain because of the conflicting value system of the church and the military. The chaplain's position also required acceptance of contradictory values about such matters as the relationship between church and state and the morality of war. Most chaplains suffered from severe role strain which they attempted to resolve by either rationalization, compartmentalization, repression or negativism. Burchard's findings were similar to Getzel's and Guba's inasmuch as role-conflict and accommodation tended to reinforce the chaplain's role as an officer and undermine his self-image as a minister.

3. Pugh (1966) found that inspectors with positions in both the inspection department and the production department of an engineering firm were subjected to conflict inasmuch as one position involved quality and the other position involved getting goods shipped out. In a role priority situation, if both the inspection and production departments defined role priority in the same manner, role-conflict was reduced.

4. Perry and Wynne (1959) dealt with the role-conflict of a clinical researcher between his role as therapist and his role as researcher. While promotion and individual reputations were enhanced by research results, social, medical and legal traditions prescribed that these goals could not be pursued without regard for the therapeutic interest of research patients. The researcher resolved this conflict according to two types of role redefinition: (1) "integrative" definition in which both the doctor and patient reached a consensus on which role should take priority and (2) "split" definition in

which neither role took priority, the doctor established purely therapeutic relationships with some patients and research relationships with others.

5. Bidwell (1960) used as a sample young professionals drafted into the army as enlisted men who continued to carry out their professional work. He found inconsistent behaviour was required of them by headquarter supervisors whose expectations were "civilianized" and company officers whose expectations were feudal-bureaucratic.

Boundary Positions

1. Wolfe and Snoeck (1962) examined the frequency of individual contact with members outside of the business organizations in relation to strong role conflict. They found the following experienced strong role-conflict: 32% with no outside contacts, 80% with few outside contacts, 60% with some outside contacts and 63% with frequent contacts outside of the organization. They hypothesized that individuals forced to deal frequently with outsiders were probably more protected from cross pressures within the organization (e.g., the salesman's contacts are mainly with outsiders but he deals with only a few members in the organization).

2. Kahn et al. (1958) reported that the more a person's job required outside contacts; the more that person feels caught between demands demands of outsiders and requirements of his own company management. Just under half of the persons in conflict situations reported that one of the conflicting parties was outside of the organization. The least tension was reported by those who never crossed company boundaries. Tension scores remained constant regardless of contact frequency. The organization, however, is likely to acknowledge boundary difficulties and formulate a policy in order to resolve extensive and serious conflicts. In addition, other incumbents in similar positions shared experiences and provided professional or quasi-professional identification. Kahn and his colleagues also computed

interdepartmental boundary contacts; those individuals serving as liaisons between two or more departments experienced increased conflict, but to a lesser degree since they were bound by common organizational norms.

3. Kahn and Katz (1966, p.192) summarize the Kahn et al. findings by stating that the location of a position within an organization was found to be related to the degree of objective conflict to which the occupant of a position is subjected. In general, positions contained deep within organizational structure were relatively conflict-free; positions located near the boundary were likely to be conflict-ridden. Thus jobs involving labour negotiations, purchasing, selling, etc., were subject to greater stress.

Legitimacy of Expectations and Sanctions

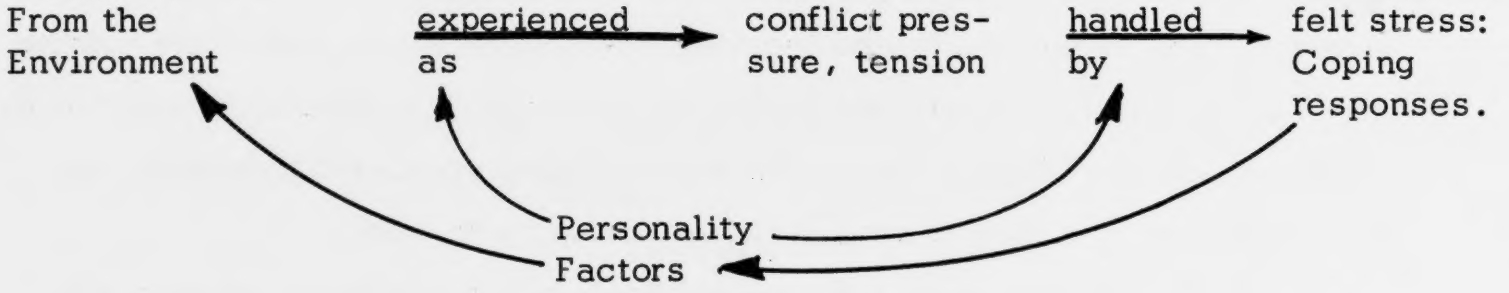
1. Gross and his colleagues (1958) examined the legitimacy sanction dimensions in a conflict situation. If an actor perceives of an individual or group as having a right to expect him to behave in conformity to a given expectation, he will be predisposed to do so; if he perceives the expectation as illegitimate, he will be predisposed not to conform. In addition, if failure to conform to an expectation results in the application of strong negative sanctions by others, the actor will be predisposed to conform to expectations in order to maximize gratification from interaction. Action in a conflict situation will therefore be somewhat dependent upon the balancing of both the relative legitimacy of requests and sanctions competing reference groups can exercise. When the pressures of legitimacy and sanctions are not in proportion, the personality variable must be introduced in order to predict behaviour. This will be discussed more fully under the section on personality factors.

2. Schein and Ott (1962) submitted a questionnaire to a sample of representatives from middle management and their subordinates. The items tested the subjects' perception of legitimate areas of management's influence.

Results indicated that superiors and subordinates did not always agree upon the legitimate areas of influence. Management sanctioned more influence in behaviour and attitudes reflecting loyalty to the company. Subordinates rejected company influence in personal morality and legitimized autonomy in personal areas even during the work day. The authors assumed tension would arise in these areas of divergence.

Personal Properties of Focal Person

Thus far we have assumed that factors involved in role conflict behaviour are more or less constant; this assumption is only partially true. The manner in which expectations are perceived, experienced and responded to vary according to the personality traits of the focal person.


Inter-personal relations: power, trust, respect, liking, hostility, etc.
Role pressures From the Environment
are experienced as
Experienced conflict pressure, tension
are handled by
Reactions to felt stress: Coping responses.
Personality Factors

(Kahn & Wolfe, 1964)

1. Personality differences of the focal person may enter into the analysis of role-set conflict in three ways: (a) the impression role senders form of the focal person's unique traits, (b) the individual's tolerance for stress and (c) individual skills in coping with stress (Kahn et al., 1964).

2. The Michigan Group examined four personality variables significant in the handling of role-set conflict: introversion-extroversion, flexibility-rigidity, achievement-security and emotional sensitivity. Flexible individuals were more prone to behavioural change when faced with role-sender pressure, more sensitive to early role pressures, more prone to experience tension, and experienced tension only when pressures were strong. Because the rigid person was less sensitive to signals of pressure he reported less tension in high pressure situations; job tension was experienced as moderate regardless of sent-role pressures, but the rigid individual was less likely to modify his behaviour in ways which were organizationally desirable.[1] The status-achievement oriented person was more likely to be highly involved in his work and thus the adverse effects of role-conflict were more pronounced for him than for those less ambitious workers. In addition, the organizational environment appeared to be more hostile to the achiever and his response increased role-conflict and decreased effect for his role-senders. The security-oriented individual was more dependent, more worried about being liked by others and attributed more power to others; he reacted to role-conflict in a blunted way; even when senders created difficulties he was unable or unwilling to reduce his attachments to them.

It was observed that in role-conflict situations tension was more pronounced for introverts. The introverted person's relationship with associates deteriorated more sharply under high pressure; tension for the extroverted individual remained more constant regardless of pressure, and trust and respect for others in their role-set was less impaired.

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[1] The rigid person was more likely to react to conflict by cutting off communications with role-set associates.

The emotionally sensitive individual recorded substantially higher tension scores for any given degree of objective conflict.

3. Sarbin and Stephenson (1952), in a laboratory study, found that rigid persons (i.e., those with high ethnocentricity scores) would more readily enact a congruent authoritarian role than an incongruent equalitarian role; flexible persons (those with low ethnocentricity scores) were able to enact both congruent and incongruent roles.

4. Kahn and Katz (1966, p.194) in citing the laboratory experiments of Sarbin and his colleagues say that this series of experiments shows that the individual's ability to respond to role expectations is a function of various personality attributes. Highly neurotic individuals have difficulty in perceiving role demands accurately; psychopaths and schizophrenics are unable to engage in role-taking. In other laboratory experiments Stouffer (1949) and Stouffer and Toby (1951) found that, in hypothetical conflict situations, subjects were predisposed to behave in a certain manner; they were disposed to resolve dilemmas either in a universalistic or a particularistic manner.

5. Indications are that those persons involved in boundary relationship positions are so chosen because they are psychologically equipped to handle potentially conflicting situations; they are more oriented to status achievement and are ready to pay a price to realize their goal (Kahn et al.).

6. Gross, Mason and McEachern introduced the individual's orientation to legitimation and sanctions as a personality variable in order to predict the behaviour of superintendents in a conflict situation. They found three types of superintendents: (1) the "moralist" whose primary concern was the legitimacy of expectations; (2) the "expedient" who was primarily concerned with sanctions; and (3) the "moral-expedient" who behaved in accordance with the net balance of the above two factors. The authors were able to predict, with significant accuracy, the behaviour of the three different personality types in sixteen potential role-conflict situations.

TABLE ILLUSTRATING BEHAVIOURAL PREDICTION

Example of behavioural prediction for individual with "moral-orientation" (Gross et al.,p.290). Behaviour predicted for 16 types of role conflicts for individuals with "moral-orientation".

Type	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Expectation	A B	A B	A B	A B	A B	A B	A B	A B
Legitimacy	L L	L L	L L	L L	L I	L I	L I	L I
Sanctions	+ +	- +	+ -	- -	+ +	- +	+ -	- -
Behaviour	c	c	c	c	a	a	a	a

Type	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Expectation	A B	A B	A B	A B	A B	A B	A B	A B
Legitimacy	I L	I L	I L	I L	I I	I I	I I	I I
Sanctions	+ +	- +	+ -	- -	+ +	- +	+ -	- -
Behaviour	b	b	b	b	d	d	d	d

A & B = role sender expectations
L = expectation perceived of as legitimate
I = expectation perceived of as illegitimate

Sanctions abbreviation; + = strong negative sanctions applied for non-conformity to expectation
- = strong negative sanctions and not applied for non-conformity to expectation

Behaviour abbreviation; a = conformity to expectations of A;
b = conformity to expectations of B;
c = compromise;
d = avoidance

The authors claim that there are two advantages to their personality prediction theory: (1) it enables a researcher to explore and analyze both inter-role and intra-role conflict and (2) both legitimate and illegitimate expectations may be examined. They also indicate two disadvantages: (1) sanctions and legitimation are treated as dichotomies whereas this should really be a continuous variable and (2) it is possible to deal with situations containing only two conflicting expectations (the theory does not cover relationships with three or more counter-roles).

7. Dalton (1959,pp.258-259) claimed conflict to be functional for ambitious individuals. He found that all managers were subject to some degree of internal conflict but those who regarded compromise as an immoral concession and feared harmony that involved certain side commitments were unable to move up into higher roles. This ambiguity thus selected the "strong" types - those who were most able to absorb, resolve and utilize conflict for personal and organization ends. Dalton hypothesized that competence in mastering confusion was less of a formal learning process and more of a re-working of perceptives, influenced by background experience, that stemmed from critical interpersonal involvements. This kind of personal competence enabled the job occupant to seemingly respect the ethics of his group and organization, but also enabled him to play many informal roles and to deal with others while still preserving the essentials of his charted course.

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APPENDIX

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF WORK POSITIONS: SOCIAL SKILLS REQUIRED

(Miller and Form)

Detached from the individual occupying a specific position is the role requirement of the position itself; this includes both technical and social demands. Our concern lies only with the latter. From a practical point of view we must learn what social skills are necessary in various jobs in the work world in order to recommend commensurate methods of work training. Given the basics of technical training, can an individual be so trained that he comes into the work world in a state of "role-readiness" (Kahn and Katz, 1966)?

Miller and Form's analysis of the social structure of work position (1951,pp.428-442) offers some insight into this problem. The purposes of this study were to: (1) identify the most important social factors common to work situations; (2) construct a sociometric scale to measure the vocational social ability required by different occupations; (3) make a social evaluation of jobs in a small industrial plant; and (4) prepare sociometric profiles of selected jobs. The authors emphasized the need to screen from view technical and status connotations in order to discover common social elements peculiar to a specific occupation.

From a survey of many hundreds of jobs, and with the help of personnel directors, psychologists, sociologists, college deans, vocational counselors, college appointments officers and vocational educational directors the social factors of work positions were classified and weighed. The following seven social factors were selected as the most important characteristics common to all jobs:

1. Scope of social contact:
   - a. direct contact with customers or general public (e.g., banker, salesman, waitress);
   - b. direct contact with working associates (e.g., assembly line workers, office workers);
   - c. direct contact with both (a) and (b), (e.g., some managerial positions, college dean, publisher);
   - d. none or infrequent contacts (e.g., nightwatchman).
2. Status range of social contacts:
   - a. contact with business class (e.g., office manager, accountant);
   - b. contact with working class (e.g., social worker, foreman);
   - c. contact with both (a) and (b), (e.g., public school teacher, retail clerk).
3. Social demands when "off the job":
   - a. no social entertainment "off the job" required (e.g., truck-driver, office clerk);
   - b. entertainment of customers or influential persons required (e.g., salesman, some executives);
   - c. entertainment of working associates or influential persons expected (e.g., college president, lobbyist, some executives).
4. Social leadership:
   - a. secure disciplined and co-operative response from persons who are expected to so respond because authority vested in person by the business institution (e.g., direct supervisors);

b. secure disciplined and co-operative response from persons who are themselves in positions of authority (managerial positions);
c. secure co-operative response from persons for whom there is no predetermined or expected pattern of behaviour (e.g., YMCA director, Boy Scout executive).

5. Size of work group directed:

a. direct or indirect supervision of a group of less than 10 (e.g., manager of small office, straw boss);
b. direct or indirect supervision of a group from 10-50 (e.g., foreman, teacher);
c. direct or indirect supervision of a group over 50 (e.g., college president, plant supervisor).

6. Social participation:

a. primary participation within the work group (e.g., railroad crew, office workers);
b. intermediate participation (teachers, physicians, lawyers);
c. secondary participation (engineering superintendents, production planning managers).

7. Personal responsibility or social accountability:

a. the number of people who report directly to the position;
b. indirectly to the position.

The evaluation of these factors revealed the following four basic social skills:

1. Ability to make vocational social contacts
2. Ability to direct individuals and work groups
3. Ability to cooperate with members of work groups
4. Ability to assume personal responsibility for others.

(This differs from (2) inasmuch as it involves indirect responsibility, maintainance of self-confidence and social responsibility.)

The relative social evaluation of a job depends upon the extent to which the seven social factors are present in the requirements of the job

(These factors are included in the four basic skills). Six factors were given a maximum weight of 100; factor 7 (skill 4) personal responsibility, was permitted a maximum weight of 400. A panel of judges was then assigned to rank the different requirements of each factor in order to evaluate the relative social skills involved. Because the final scoring system was lengthy, and because formal tests of reliability and validity were not performed, the following is only a single example of the point values assigned to social skill factors.

Ability to make Vocational Social Contacts

Point Values	
0-25	a. job requires few or infrequent contacts with people most of work time
26-50	b. job requires direct contact with working associates during most of work time
51-75	c. job requires direct contact with customers, clients or general public during most of work time
76-100	d. job requires a large number of contacts with both working associates and customers or general public during most of work time

The authors then applied this scale to a small industrial plant. The social evaluation of all jobs in the plant were computed and charted. The chart clearly showed that the greatest social skill was required by the general manager; more so than the President whose status range of contacts was limited. The General Manager had frequent contacts with salesmen, customers, government officials, community leaders, plant and office officials and sometimes workmen. He was responsible for a large amount of paper work and "off the job" entertainment. He also traveled a good deal. The night watchman was in diametric contrast to this position and between these two poles rested the job structure of this plant with its varying options of association and responsibility. The social skill demanded of the great bulk of workers was relatively low. It was significant that jobs with high social skill demands required individuals who could at the same time handle and be responsible for people; both overt skills and psychic strength were required.